Robert D. Miller II

Yahweh: Origin of a Desert God

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Preface

Introductions can play many roles. This Introduction acts as an Owner's Manual. Here the reader will find safety instructions, complete with warnings about my philosophical bent, assembly information explaining the narrative structure of the book, and regulatory code compliance in the form of acknowledgement of those who assisted in the research behind this monograph.

I begin with stating the problem: the origin of Yahweh. As Chapter One will explain, despite the many advances in our understanding of the background and development of Israel's concept of God, the name Yahweh, its origins in time and space, as well as the theological notions proper to it, remain elusive. The purpose of this study is to find those origins, to locate the earliest Yahwists, to explain the process by which Yahweh became *the* God of the Israelite people.

Multiple other questions accrue to this purpose, however. Since the Bible itself proposes answers to the base problem, as I will argue, questions will arise concerning a set of poetic refrains about Yahweh coming "from the South." The role of Midian, especially in the stories of Moses, but elsewhere as well, will also have to be discussed. Who is the Yahweh of Teman mentioned at Kuntillet Ajrud? And who (or what) is the Yahweh mentioned alongside "Shasu" in several Egyptian texts. Should we be looking to Midian or to Edom for answers to the base problem? In both cases, what is the history and religion of those places?

These are my own questions, and my philosophical worldview will be expressed in them and bounds them.[1] I think it fair to say that at least in this study, that worldview is constructivist and functionalist, which demands brief definition of the basic ideas of those views. As Evans-Pritchard said, it used to be suggested that theoretical bias "were a vice and not a virtue."[2]

I consider myself constructivist here in the sense that I see varied, multiple, and subjective meanings—meanings of texts, of place-names, of divine names, and of archaeological remains.[3] In particular, I consider those meanings subjective

1 J. Mason, "Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way," *Qualitative Research* 6, no. 1 (February 1, 2006): 13.

2 Edward E. Evans-Pritchard, "Some Reminiscences and Reflections on Fieldwork (Appendix IV)," in *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*, ed. Edward E. Evans-Pritchard and Eva Gillies (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 2; so, too, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Method in Social Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 35.

3 The inclusion of material culture owes much to Clifford Geertz, but also to Kenneth Burke and Erich Auerbach; Stephen Greenblatt, "The Touch of the Real," *Representations* 59 (1997): 18–22; Ronald G. Walters, "Signs of the Times: Clifford Geertz and the Historians," *Social Research* 47 (1980): 545–47.

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in that they are socio-historically contextual.[4] That is what makes my views also functionalist. As to how this worldview has shaped my approach and my role as researcher, this is best seen in the procedures this study involves, to be outlined shortly.

A further note should be made regarding philosophical worldview, however. It underlies my questions and no doubt my answers, but it is a worldview, not an interpretive theory.[5] Interpretation is here Grounded Theory, "a 'reiterative loop' [which] privileges neither inductive or deductive modes of inquiry.[6] That is, my methodology is generating or adapting explanatory theory and doing research as two parts of the same process.[7] Thus, strategies for validating are employed along the way. "There is built into this style of extensive interrelated data collection and theoretical analysis an explicit mandate to strive toward *verification* of its resulting hypotheses. This is done *throughout the course* of a research project."[8]

I employ an "innovative and creative palette of methods."[9] In unpacking meaning in every case, I explore as full as possible the contexts of discourse and of social process and then make theoretically-driven ethnographic comparisons.[10] At the same time, I am wary of over-interpretation; I do not assume those who used these discourses intended them to be the most systematic or coherent statements of anything.[11]

These are the approaches of Intellectual History, the History of Ideas or of Mentalities (usually in the French, *Mentalités*),[12] which are much the same as those of Collective/Communal/Cultural/Social Memory studies.[13] All of these

4 Christopher Butler, "Functional Approaches to Language," in *The Dynamics of Language Use: Functional and Contrastive Perspectives*, ed. Christopher Butler, Ma de los Ángeles Gómez González, and Susana Ma Doval Suárez (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 2005), 5, 7; Mason, "Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way," 17; Riccardo Bavaj, "Intellectual History," *Docupedia—Zeitgeschichte*, September 13, 2010, 4, http://docupedia.de/zg/Intellectual_History; Dominick LaCapra, "Tropisms of Intellectual History," *Rethinking History* 8 (2004): 502; Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Ideas* 8 (1969): 22, 39–40.

5 For a definition of theory, see Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, "Grounded Theory Methodology (1994)," in *Fieldwork*, ed. Christopher Pole, vol. 4, Sage Benchmarks in Social Research Methods (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005), 30–31, of course, such theory, too, is "made from given perspectives" of the researcher; Strauss and Corbin, 33.

6 John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 46, 107–8.

7 Strauss and Corbin, "Grounded Theory Methodology," 23, 29.

8 Strauss and Corbin, 24 italics original.

9 Mason, "Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way," 13.

10 Mason, 16; David Boucher, *Texts in Context: Revisionist Methods for Studying the History of Ideas*, Martinus Nijhoff Philosophy Library 12 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1985), 173; Radcliffe-Brown, *Method in Social Anthropology*, 6–7.

11 Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," 15–18.

12 Bavaj, "Intellectual History," 1–2, 4.

13 Alon Confino, "Memory and the History of Mentalities," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (New York: De Gruyter, 2008), 77–81.

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will be hashed out more thoroughly in the chapters that follow. Nonetheless, there is no methodological straightjacket here: I am simply writing history. As Joseph Levine writes, "Some historians practice their craft without much regard for ideas, and some intellectual historians practice their craft without much regard for the methods of ordinary history. In either case, I think that that is too bad."[14] And by "ordinary history," I mean that my aim "is to *represent* reality: to smooth over the details, to look for larger patterns," as John Lewis Gaddis writes.[15]

The organization of the chapters of this book is as follows. Chapter One, after briefly considering the etymology of the divine name Yahweh, explores traditions in the Pentateuch of worshippers of Yahweh who are not Israelites. Moses' father-in-law Jethro the Midianite (or, elsewhere, Kenite) plays a key role in the establishment of Yahwism, and analysis of this role will implicate a wide range of texts about Midianites, Kenites, and Rechabites, Cain, Caleb, and Heber, and what was once called the Kenite Hypothesis. This chapter also examines a set of poetic fragments that identify the "South"—in various epithets—as the domain of Yahweh.

Chapter Two is devoted to the archaeological site of Kuntillet Ajrud, and in particular to explaining references in inscriptions from the site to "Yahweh of Teman." Current understanding of the remains of the site informs this discussion of the title, as well as of a small inscriptions mentioning either Cain or the Kenites.

Chapter Three assembles and discusses several extrabiblical attestations of Yahweh other than Kuntillet Ajrud: first, Papyrus Amherst 63 and Sinaitic inscriptions from the 2nd century BC, then some references from 8th-century Syria, and finally references from Southern Mesopotamia from the 6th, 10th, and 13th centuries. An argument that Yahweh is present in Papyrus Louvre E.32847 as the Egyptian god Seth and Bebon will be contested.

The fourth chapter examines the most important extrabiblical occurrence of "Yahweh," attached to lists of West Asian Shasu in Egyptian records. The Shasu regularly appear in discussions by biblical scholars, often with little precision—assuming they are a Late Bronze Age phenomenon only, for example. This chapter presents the state of scholarship on the Shasu and on the "Yahweh" of the Shasu in particular. The related Sutu will be briefly examined, along with a claimed reference to Yahweh in a 19th-dynasty Book of the Dead.

14 Joseph M. Levine, "Intellectual History as History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2005): 189–200.

15 Gaddis, *The Landscape of History*, 7. We seem to have finally moved beyond the factionalized historiography of the late 20th century, restoring the social after New Cultural History and Poststructuralism, combining the best of all these schools; Brian Lewis, "The Newest Social History," in *Sage Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (Los Angeles: Sage, 2013), 233–34; Anthony Grafton, "The History of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67 (2006): 5, 18, 24, 27, even Dominic LaCapra turned to texts, contexts, and ideas after 2000; LaCapra, "Tropisms of Intellectual History," 502, 511.

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The previous chapters lead the investigation toward Southwestern Jordan and Northwestern Arabia—Edom and Midian. Although it will be shown already by Chapter Four that Midian is a better avenue, the history and religion of each must be thoroughly presented. Chapter Five presents the current status of our knowledge of Edom, both Trans- and Cis-Jordanian. The archaeology of Edom is quite recent, and hotly debated, and position must be taken on some of these debates. This chapter will show that the history of Edom does not support its value for understanding the origins of Yahwism, and there is no reason to connect early Edomite religion with Yahweh.

Chapter Six is an explication of the religion of Midian, something no previous study has undertaken. Again, the archaeology is very recent and ongoing, and unlike Edom we must rely solely on archaeology to reconstruct Midianite religion. After presenting the history of Northwest Arabia and isolating the archaeological sources for establishing its religion, the best anthropological archaeology of religion will be applied to unpack Midianite religion, and it will be established that it was, indeed, Yahwism.

Chapter Seven is about how Yahweh got from Midian to Israel. But before this reconstruction can be narrated, its key component, metallurgy, must be elucidated. First, the archaeological and historical portrait of West Asian copper will be presented, drawing on the latest (and controversial) findings. Second, current anthropological understandings of metallurgy and metallurgists, especially in Africa, will also be presented. These are the essential elements in the account that is then provided of how the god Yahweh moved from Midian into Israel.

There are numerous individuals and organizations that I owe many thanks to for their help in this enterprise. The School of Theology and Religious Studies at The Catholic University of America granted me a sabbatical where most of the research took place. I owe the greatest thanks to the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, for naming me a Beaufort Overseas Visiting Scholar to pursue that research. A week's use of the Anthropos Institute in Sankt Augustin, thanks to the hospitality of Dr. Stanisław Grodź, SVD, was essential for Chapter Seven. During my sabbatical and afterwards, questions, discussion, and suggestions of Nick Wyatt, Hans Ulrich Steymans, Christian Sahner, Israel Knohl, Nathan MacDonald, Hindy Najman, Andrew MacIntosh, Graeme Barker, Carol Barrett-Ford, Rosalie Maloney, and others I am sure I am forgetting helped refine my work. I am most grateful to the hospitality extended to a fellow student with a few years on them by the Cambridge "Scriptorium" and some of the brightest young theological minds in that city, especially David Illman, Mariette van der Tol, Michael James, Jon Thompson, Leland Taylor, Matthew Johnson, Florence Gildea, and Jennifer Adams-Massmann. My doctoral students, World Kim and Howard Jung, provided extensive, thorough editing, for which I am most grateful.

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Chapter 1:
Southern Origins of Yahweh in the Bible

You say I took the name in vain
I don't even know the name
But if I did—well, really—what's it to you?
There's a blaze of light in every word
It doesn't matter which you heard
The holy or the broken Hallelujah

Leonard Cohen, "Hallelujah"

"Who is God?" is perhaps the most fundamental question of theology, philosophy, and mythology alike. In the past half-century, many scholars have written extensively on the origins and development of Israel's understanding of God and the history of Israelite "theology" as that includes God's nature, attributes, and mythology. In the latter area in particular, the antecedents of Israelite theology in the Northwest Semitic world and its Baal myths elaborated extensively in Ugaritic texts have been outlined thoroughly, most notably in the work of Mark S. Smith.[1] The biblical depiction of God, especially in the metaphors and images employed, owe much to that Northwest Semitic mythos, even to the level of phrases and idioms, and this is now agreed upon by most scholars.

The name "God," "*El*" in Hebrew, also belongs to this Northwest Semitic literary tradition.[2] In Ugaritic texts, the god El is creator, king, and father.[3] In the Deir Allah literary text, El behaves in ways similar to the Old Testament's portrait of God. El is ubiquitous in West Asia, showing up in personal names found in Tell

1 Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); Smith, *The Memoirs of God: History, Memory, and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004); Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Smith, *God in Translation: Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012); see also Seth L. Sanders, "'The Mutation Peculiar to Hebrew Religion:' Monotheism, Pantheon Reduction, or Royal Adoption of Family Religion?" *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 14 (2014): 217–27; Christian Frevel, "Beyond Monotheism? Some Remarks and Questions on Conceptualising 'monotheism' in Biblical Studies," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34 (2013): 1–7; Peter B. Machinist, "Once More: Monotheism in Biblical Israel," *JISMOR* 1 (2005): 25–39; also already George A. Barton, *Native Israelitish Deities* (Boston: Oriental Club of Philadelphia, 1894), 1.

2 Meindert Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," in *Only One God?*, ed. Bob Becking, Meindert Dijkstra, Marjo C. A. Korpel, and Karel J. H. Vriezen, Biblical Seminar 77 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 93–98, 105.

3 Smith, *The Early History of God*, 95–96.

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Amarna letters, in Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions, and in Egyptian topographic lists.[4] "El" is one of the ways Israel addressed and understood God from an early period (Deut 33:26; Ps 68:36). Even the name "Israel," found first in the 13th-century Merneptah Stele, displays the divine name El.[5]

Israel's God has another name, however, "Yahweh." Daniel Sibony calls this name "La plus grande création de la Bible hébraïque."[6] Yet, as Meindert Dijkstra writes, "The name and character of YHWH appeared out of the blue in the Ancient Near East."[7] No Yahweh appears in Ugaritic texts.[8] Unlike Baal and El, ancient Palestine knows no Yahweh theophoric place-names.[9]

What is more, it is not merely a matter of the name that scholars have failed to track down. As Ziony Zevit writes, "M. S. Smith's admirable study of the image of YHWH in light of Canaanite culture attempted to trace the emergence of the Bible's YHWH from the posited core, but only managed to demonstrate how the layers of recognized persona could have been built up from Canaanite stuff. His research did not uncover the core."[10] Perhaps that core belongs with the mysterious name, Yahweh.[11] For, as Smith affirms, "YHWH is grounded in a place outside of Israel."[12]

4 Richard S. Hess, *Amarna Personal Names*, American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series 9 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 233–42; Theodore J. Lewis, "Ugaritic El and Israelite El in Text and Iconography" (Paper presented at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, Orlando, 1998).

5 Thomas Römer, "The Revelation of the Divine Name to Moses and the Construction of a Memory About the Origins of the Encounter between Yhwh and Israel," in *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider, and William H. C. Propp (New York: Springer, 2015), 312.

6 Daniel Sibony, *Lectures bibliques*, Poches Odile Jacob, Essais 386 (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2015), 12.

7 Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," 100; interestingly, Chemosh of Moab and Qaus of Edom are also absent from the Ugaritic texts; Kenton L. Sparks, "Religion, Identity and the Origins of Ancient Israel," *Religion Compass* 1 (2007): 592.

8 Martin Leuenberger, *Gott in Bewegung: Religions- Und Theologiegeschichtliche Beiträge zu Gottesvorstellungen Im Alten Israel*, FAT 76 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 31; Thomas Römer, *The Invention of God* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 37.

9 Martin Leuenberger, "YHWH's Provenance from the South," in *The Origins of Yahwism*, ed. Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte, BZAW 484 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2017), 165.

10 Ziony Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches* (London; New York: Continuum, 2001), 68; Paul Nadim Tarazi, *The Rise of Scripture* (St. Paul: Orthodox Center for the Advancement of Biblical Studies, 2017), 94–106 on how the biblical text uses the names Yahweh and El distinctively theologically.

11 Manfred Görg, "Jahwe," *Neues Bibel-Lexikon*, 1995, 266; perhaps most imaginative is the recent Euhemerist argument that "Yahweh" in the text was really Thutmosis III; Michele Ernandes, "Abraham's Gods," *Mankind Quarterly* 57 (2016): esp. 138–39, 141, 145, 150.

12 Mark S. Smith, "YHWH's Original Character," in *The Origins of Yahwism*, ed. Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte, BZAW 484 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2017), 26.

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The Old Testament itself gives conflicting accounts of how and when Israel came to know the name Yahweh.[13] Yahweh was God of both Israel and Judah, and that might suggest that Yahweh was known quite early.[14] The oldest biblical text that uses the name Yahweh is probably Judg 5:13, 23, and the name's appearance in Yahwistic names Joshua and Jonathan is also old,[15] although no personal names found in the LB or Iron I Levant contain the name Yahweh.[16] Ancient Near Eastern texts from outside the Bible also attest to Yahweh being the God of Israel; the earliest of these is the Mesha Stele (840 BC).[17]

According to Gen 4:26, people began to "call on the name of Yahweh" close to the origin of the world. Most scholars assign this text to the so-called Yahwist Source.[18] By contrast, the Priestly Writer believes the name was new to Moses (Exod 6:3), or is at least aware of two conflicting accounts and attempts to reconcile them.[19] Biblical scholars have long ignored the testimony of Exodus 6 and assumed Israel knew the name Yahweh "long before the time of Moses," a view argued by Kittel, Delitzsch, Ewald, Wellhausen, Smend, and Kautzsch among others.[20]

On the other hand, Genesis 4 may not concern the use of the name Yahweh at all. It could simply be a statement about people first worshipping God, a God whom the biblical author naturally knew to be named "Yahweh." In that case, the text says nothing about what its author thought early people called God and when.[21]

The verb "begin" (חלל) appears here in the Hophal, the only such occurrence in the Bible, and it is unclear who "began to call on the name." The Septuagint add the word "hoped to" before "began," and early Jewish interpreters understood the people in question to have misused the divine name sacrilegiously (*Tg. Neofiti*;

13 Samuel Nyström, *Beduinentum und Jahwismus* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946), 84.

14 Ignaz Goldziher, *Mythology Among the Hebrews* (New York: Cooper Square, 1967), 292; Leuenberger, "YHWH's Provenance from the South," 162.

15 Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," 101; the name of Moses' mother, Jochebed, likely does not include the name Yahweh.

16 Leuenberger, "YHWH's Provenance from the South," 164.

17 Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," 101, 107.

18 Theophile J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (New York: Harper, 1960), 92; Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," 86.

19 Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," 87–88; Römer, "The Revelation of the Divine Name to Moses and the Construction of a Memory About the Origins of the Encounter between Yhwh and Israel," 308.

20 Lewis Bayles Paton, "The Origin of Yahweh-Worship in Israel: I," *The Biblical World* 28 (1906): 14–15;; a Mosaic-era origin was proposed by Dillmann, Stade, and Budde; Paton, 19.

21 1 Sam 14:35 says that when Saul built an altar to Yahweh, אֹתוֹ הֵחֵל לִבְנוֹת מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה, which most translations understand to mean it was the first altar he built to Yahweh. The Midrash in Leviticus Rabbah understands it to mean he was the first person to build an altar to Yahweh, moving the advent of Yahwistic worship even later. S. David Sperling, *The Original Torah*, Reappraisals in Jewish Social and Intellectual History 11 (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 130–31, agrees with the Midrash.

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Fragment-Targum). If the author of Genesis 4 meant to say that in Enosh's time people began to address God by the Tetragrammaton, there were many easier ways to say that (as in Gen 9:20; 10:8).[22]

The Meaning of the Tetragrammaton

Some scholars have found the etymology of "Yahweh" relevant for the name's (and the God's) origin.[23] First, we must establish that the name is, in fact, Yahweh. That form that has been the norm in scholarly discourse since Ewald, although it was subsequently debated by Jastrow (1893, 1895, 1896), Haupt (1901), Delitzsch (1905), Moore (1909), Luckenbill (1924), Albright (1924), Waterman (1927), Driver (1928), Eerdmans (1948), Buchanan (1970), and others.[24] As Arthur Gibson wrote, "The literature reviewing problems associated with the PN *yhwh* is so extensive, and frequently so repetitious, as to render another survey inadvisable."[25] A detailed discussion would require analysis of Arad and Lachish inscriptions, Elephantine texts, and countless Greek manuscripts.[26] Only some brief notes are warranted.

The Mesha Stele preserves the form identical to the Hebrew Bible, יהוה. The form Yah occurs in personal names and in words like hallelujah, but also in Exod 15:2; Isa 12:2; and Ps 68:19.[27] These two forms, Yah and the tetragrammaton, occur together on the Khirbet Beit Lei Inscription, c. 700 BC.[28] The Samaria Ostraca have Yaw in personal names, a form also attested in Assyrian royal annals. Other names include the form Yahow, which also appears in various epigraphic sources such as the Elephantine texts and Murashu archive from Nippur. The *waw* is not a *mater lectionis* indicating the sound "o" as Thomas Römer maintains.[29]

22 Robert P. Gordon, "Genesis 4:26b: The MT and the Versions," in *Let Us Go up to Zion: Essays in Honour of H. G.M. Williamson on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Iain W. Provan and Mark J. Boda, VTSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 57–68.

23 Matthias Kockert, "YHWH in the Northern and Southern Kingdom," in *One God – One Cult – One Nation*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann, BZAW 405 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 29, derives Yahweh from "to blow" and thus identifies him as a weather-god. Römer, *The Invention of God*, 34 considers this "conceivable … probably the most satisfactory, even though it is not totally without difficulties."

24 See Geoffrey H. Parke-Taylor, *יהוה =: Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible* (Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1975), 79.

25 Arthur Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic: A Preliminary Analysis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 151.

26 Cf. Görg, "Jahwe," 262–63.

27 Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," 86; Römer, *The Invention of God*, 28.

28 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 28.

29 Römer, 31.

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The correct vocalization is Yahweh,[30] first proposed by Gilbert Génébrard OSB in 1567.[31] Römer argues for Yahu, since it accords with the Greek form in both the Dead Sea Scroll 4QpapLXXLev^{b} and Diodorus of Sicily's 1st-century *Bibliotheke* (1.94.2).[32] Yahow, however, would be the normal shortened form of a verb like *Yahweh*, just as the imperfect ישתהוה shortens in the preterite or jussive to ישתהו.[33] The best Greek religious papyrus from Egypt, London Papyrus 46, transcribes the divine name as *Ιαουιηε* (lines 446–82), which is nearly identical to Clement of Alexandria's *Ιαουε*.[34] The Greek form *Ιαω* is a red herring, for if the seven Greek vowels are combined in threes, *Ιαω* will show up naturally, and *Ια* and *Ιω* were common exclamations used in Greek religion.[35] Moreover, reading "Yahu" instead of "Yahow" does not account for the final *-he*.[36]A final piece of evidence for the pronunciation "Yahweh" is that when the Masoretes borrowed the vowels of *Adonai* or *Elohim* into the tetragrammaton to prevent its vocal pronunciation, they avoided the very short vowel *a* because it might have led the reader to accidentally pronounce the first syllable *ya* correctly.[37]

What, then, does "Yahweh" mean? Discussing its etymology, which exposes even the most sober scholars to "a mystical infection,"[38] is a very large and complicated subject into which we need not try to enter very deeply. Frank Moore Cross, noting the repeated use of the phrase *Yahweh Ṣebaot,* "Yahweh of hosts" (e.g., 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2), and interpreting Yahweh etymologically as a causative form, "to create," interpreted *Yahweh Ṣebaot* as the designation "creates armies" and argued it was merely an epithet of El: "El creates armies."[39] John Day, followed by others, noted both that Cross was wrong in his etymology of Yahweh and that the epithet "El creates armies" not showing up at Ugarit was fatal.[40] While Cross

30 A. Murtonen, *A Philological and Literary Treatise on the Old Testament Divine Names* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press, 1952), 55.

31 Murtonen, 56.

32 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 31.

33 Anson F. Rainey, "How Yahweh Was Pronounced," *Biblical Archaeology Review*, October 1994; Parke-Taylor, יהוה, 57.

34 Rainey, "How Yahweh Was Pronounced"; Yahweh in Hellenistic Egyptian magical texts may be the work of the descendants of Jeremiah-era refugees; Morton Smith, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 130 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 243.

35 Smith, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, 245–46.

36 Parke-Taylor, יהוה, 80.

37 Rainey, "How Yahweh Was Pronounced."

38 Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic*, 151.

39 Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 69–71.

40 John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, JSOTSup 265 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 15–16; R. Scott Chalmers, *The Struggle of Yahweh and El for Hosea's Israel*, Hebrew Bible Monographs 11 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2008), 7–11, 14, thorough discounting of the causative is provided by Anne-Marie Kitz, "The Verb *yahway"

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is no doubt correct that Israel equated Yahweh with El,[41] the origin of the name Yahweh is independent of El.

Exodus 3 has it right; *Yahweh* is from the root הוי, "to be," in the third person masculine singular, Qal prefixing form.[42] It is *Yahweh* and not *Yihweh* because some roots (e.g., *HMY*) never made the "Barth-Ginsberg" shift from *yaqtul* to *yiqtal*.[43] If *HWY* is such case, then the original *yahway* form of the Qal prefixing form would have become (the *yod* having become *he* as early as the 9th-century Tell Fekheriye inscription) *Yahweh*.[44] Unfortunately, that says little about the origin of the God named Yahweh.

The Midianite (Kenite) Hypothesis

This same chapter of Exodus 3 that presents the Tetragrammaton, introduces in v 1 Moses' "father-in-law, Jethro, the priest of Midian," a title he is again given in Exod 18:1.[45] Exodus 18 continues in v 9 (ESV, with the proper name Yahweh as it appears in the MT),

> 9 And Jethro rejoiced for all the good that Yahweh had done to Israel, in that he had delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians.
> 10 Jethro said, "Blessed be Yahweh, who has delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians and out of the hand of Pharaoh and has delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. 11 Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods, because in this affair they dealt arrogantly with the people." 12 And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, brought a burnt offering and sacrifices to God.

The plain sense is that the priesthood of Jethro is a priesthood of Yahweh. Admittedly, the text only ever calls him a priest of God (El), but Yahweh is the name

(Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Boston, 2017); Anne-Marie Kitz, "To Be or Not to Be, That Is the Question: Yhwh and Ea," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 80 (2018): 196–97, 212–13, which stands without its corrollary argument that Yahweh is really Ea.

41 Contra Chalmers, *The Struggle of Yahweh and El for Hosea's Israel*, 7–11.

42 Rainey, "How Yahweh Was Pronounced"; Marlene E. Mondriaan, "Yahweh and the Origin of Yahwism," *Old Testament Essays* 17 (2004): 582. Note that Kittel and others denied this meaning solely because the idea of being was thought to be too abstract for Semitic thinking; Murtonen, *A Philological and Literary Treatise on the Old Testament Divine Names*, 66.

43 Alternatively, the/a/vocalization could be justified by a pre-Hebrew origin for the name; Josef Tropper, "The Divine Name *Yahwa," in *The Origins of Yahwism*, ed. Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte, BZAW 484 (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2017), 22.

44 Kitz, "The Verb *yahway."

45 The name, Jethro, is known in North Arabian, and is possibly related to Ug. *Yatar*, Amor. *Yatar*, Safaitic/Thamudic *Ytr*; George E. Mendenhall, "Qurayya and the Midianites," in *Pre-Islamic Arabia*, ed. A. R. Ansary, Studies in the History of Arabia 2 (Riyadh: King Saud University Press, 1984), 139, 145 fig. 39.

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used in vv 9–11.[46] The author might envision Jethro as a priest of some other god(s) and intend that v 11 reflect a realization that Yahweh is greater than those other gods, and that is, in fact, how Judaism has traditionally interpreted the passage.[47] Yet as Morgenstern wrote, "It is not the cry of a hiterhto half-convinced and hesitating convert to a new faith, but rather the exultant shout of an old and loyal worshiper and champion of Yahweh."[48] Some Jewish traditions noted rightly that the "conversion" interpretation would require a mental "conversion" before v 9, only voiced in v 11,[49] as well as the awkward fact of Moses' marriage into a non-Yahwistic family.[50] Before this chapter, Jethro (and by extension, his daughter Zipporah[51]) is never presented as a polytheist or "pagan" of any sort. Moreover, the fact that it is *Jethro* who makes the offering in v 12 (stated even stronger in the Syriac, Targumim, and Vulgate, where he not only "brings" it but also burns it) requires that his priesthood has at a minimum somehow automatically transferred to Yahweh.[52] The more natural interpretation is that the author believes Jethro's was always a priesthood of Yahweh.[53] Note that Jethro knows the name "Yahweh" in v 10 before Moses has even told him about it.[54] The strength of this reading caused some rabbinic traditions to say that Jethro was such a great Yahwistic saint that when he arrived at the Israelite camp, even the Shekinah went out to meet him (*Mekhilta* 1c; *Midrash Tanhuma* Yitro, 6).[55]

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46 Contra Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 91–95.

47 Inter alia, Nathan Sternharz and Avraham Greenbaum, *The Fiftieth Gate =: [Liḳuṭe Tefilot] = Likutey Tefilot: Reb Noson's Prayers* (Jerusalem: Breslov Research Institute, 1992), 213; Saadya ben David, *Midrash ha-Beur* (1441); in Y. Tzvi Langermann, ed., *Yemenite Midrash: Philosophical Commentaries on the Torah* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 138–39.

48 Julian Morgenstern, *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch*, Hebrew Union College Annual Reprints 4 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1927), 44.

49 And "now I know" on its own does not establish whether the statement was confessed for the first time or not; Andrea Saner, "YHWH, the Trinity, and the Literal Sense: Theological Interpretation of Exodus 3:13–15" (Diss., University of Durham, 2013), 59, http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/7378/.

50 E.g., David ʿAdani, *Midrash ha-Gadol* (ca. 1350) in Langermann, *Yemenite Midrash*, 168, which identified Jethro with Putiel, the father of Aaron's daughter-in-law (Exod 6:25); Langermann, 259; W. F. Albright, "Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph," *JBL* 37 (1918): 140 thought Reuel was Joseph's [sic] father-in-law Potiphera "after casting his lot with the Hebrews."

51 The name is known in North Arabian, perhaps related to Ug. *Ṣpr*, *Ṣuparanu*, Amor. *Ṣapursalim*, Arab. *Ṣfrh*; Mendenhall, "Qurayya and the Midianites," 139, 145 fig. 39.

52 Sperling, *The Original Torah*, 132; C. Brekelmans, "Exodus xviii and the Origins of Yahwism in Israel," *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 10 (1954): 218–20; Gene Rice, "Africans and the Origins of the Worship of Yahweh," *Journal of Religious Thought* 50 (1993): 31; Römer, *The Invention of God*, 64.

53 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 67.

54 Römer, 66.

55 The more extensive midrashic tradition is that Jethro had been one of Pharaoh's counsellors, who tried to dissuade him from destroying Israel. As a result of this and of his harboring

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Exodus 3:1 calls the father-in-law of Moses by the name Jethro and states that he was a Midianite. Num 10:29, however, refers to Hobab son of Reuel, stating that either Hobab or Reuel is Moses' Midianite father-in-law, although it is not clear which.[56] That Hobab is to guide Israel through the wilderness suggests he is meant to be the younger man, and Reuel is the father,[57] although Haupt argued that "Hobab" was the Edomite word for "father-in-law."[58] Exod 2:18 calls Moses' father-in-law Reuel, while in Judg 4:11, Hobab is the father-in-law. In Judges 4, however, Hobab is a Kenite, as is the unnamed father-in-law in Judg 1:16, named Hobab in the Septuagint.[59] Reuel is called a priest in Exod 2:18, just as Jethro is.

The easy explanation, at least since Driver, Kittel, Bentzen, and Noth, is that Jethro is E, Hobab is J, and Reuel is P.[60] Quite a number of scholars, however, have resisted this answer. Benno Jacob argued that Jethro could not be Hobab since Moses would not have asked the priest to leave Midian (cf. Num 10:29).[61] He

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Moses, Jethro's Kenite descendants were worthy to sit in the Chamber of Hewn Stone in the Second Temple (*b. Sanh.* 103b-104a; *Yalkut Shimoni* to the Prophets 104a); Christopher H. Knights, "The Rechabites in the Bible and in Jewish Tradition to the Time of Rabbi David Kimhi" (Diss., University of Durham, 1988), 17–18, http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/6707/. Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003), 26, chap. 6 supplies a Midrash that interprets Balaam's prophecy over the Kenites to predict this Temple service. *The Book of the Bee* of Solomon of Basra (c. 1220) preserves a tradition that Jethro was the holder of the Staff of Adam, cut from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil and handed down through Noah, Shem, Isaac, and Judah, lost, and then found by Jethro (chap. 30 = chap. 33 in the Oxford MS). In the Quran, Jethro appears as Shuaib, a prophet in Midian. In 7:85–91, he rebukes Midian for its idolatry and injustice, and it is destroyed by earthquake. The story is repeated in 11:84–94, and all of Shuaib's followers are killed; only he escapes alive. In 26:176–89, Shuaib prophesies to both Midian and the "Forest-dwellers," perhaps related to the etymological meaning of Seir. According to the *Stories of the Prophets* compiled by Muḥammad al-Kisāʾī (c. 1100), Shuaib was the grandson of an Amalekite woman and the great-grandson of Midian, son of Abraham; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Kisāʾī, *Tales of the Prophets =: Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyāʾ*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston Jr. (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1997), 205; C. E. Bosworth, "Madyah Shu'ayb in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Lore and History," *JSS* 29 (1984): 54–55. Most intriguing is that Shuaib also has the Staff of Adam, transmitted by the same lineage as in Jewish tradition; Kisāʾī, *Tales of the Prophets*, 222; Scott B Noegel, *The A to Z of Prophets in Islam and Judaism* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 2010).

56 The name Reuel is known in North Arabian and may be related to Ug. *Rᶜy*, Amor. *Ilaraḥiya*, Safaitic *Rᶜy-'L*; Mendenhall, "Qurayya and the Midianites," 139, 145 fig. 39. Hobab, although known in North Arabian and related to Arab. *Ḥbb*, Mendenhall speculatively connects with Hurrian Ḫupabe; Mendenhall, "Qurayya and the Midianites," 139, 145 fig. 39.

57 Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh*, 23. Morgenstern, *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch*, 40–41 argues Hobab must have undertaken this task, since his tribe is with Israel in Judg 1:16 and 4:11.

58 Paul Haupt, "Hobab = Schwiegervater," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 4 (1909): 164; accepted by Albright, "Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph," 140.

59 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 62.

60 W. F. Albright, "Jethro, Hobab and Reuel," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 25 (1963): 4; L. Elliott Binns, "Midianite Elements in Hebrew Religion," *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1930): 339 n. 2.

61 Benno Jacob, *The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1992), 504.

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re-vocalizes חֹתֵן in Judges to חֲתָן, and translates it as *brother*-in-law,[62] identifying Hobab as Moses' brother-in-law, following Samaritan tradition.[63] Albright also re-vocalizes חֹתֵן to חֲתָן, which he translates "son-in-law."[64] Rashi and Maimonides thought that Hobab was Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, and Reuel was his father.[65] Milgrom prefers an explanation where Hobab, the young desert scout, is from the clan of Reuel the father-in-law, since Reuel appears to be a clan name in Gen 25:3 LXX; Gen 36:17; and 1 Chron 1:35–37.[66] Since Hobab means the same thing as Reuel, "friend [of God]," it makes most sense to see them as variants referring to the same person.[67]

These names allow us to make connections in other texts, shedding more light on the intended ethnicity of Moses' father-in-law. Genesis 36:4 has a son of Esau named Reuel, the half-brother of Eliphaz father of Amalek (by a Horite woman named Timna).[68] Benno Jacob believed this was the same Reuel and that he was an Edomite who had moved to Midian.[69] In any case, the text is linking Midianites with Edomites and with Amalekites (as does 1 Samuel 14:35; 15:5–7; 27:5–11, which also includes Jerahmeel[ites]).[70] Amalekites ally with Midianites in Judges 6 and 7.[71]

The Song of Deborah, to which will shall return, makes a fascinating connection between Israel and Amalek. Verse 14 reads, "From Ephraim is their ancestry, in Amalek, following you, Benjamin, with your kin." The translation here is not in question. This might mean some of the Ephraimites (and Benjaminites?) lived among Amalekites; it is hard to see how it could mean that Amalekites had been absorbed into Ephraim or that there was an Amalekite enclave in Ephraim.[72] Its awkwardness inspired Codex Alexandrinus of the Septuagint and Theodotion's

62 Following A. Kahlberg, "Der Schwiegervater Des Moses," *Der Morgen* 5 (1929): 70.

63 Jacob, *The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus*, 507–508, thinks Reuel changed his name to Jethro after Moses and Zipporah's wedding.

64 Albright, "Jethro, Hobab and Reuel," 7.

65 Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 78.

66 Milgrom, 78; following Albright, "Jethro, Hobab and Reuel," 5–6.

67 Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, Anchor Bible 4 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 315.

68 Zev Garber, "Amalek and Amalekut," in *Jewish Bible Theology*, ed. Isaac Kalimi (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 153; Römer, *The Invention of God*, 63.

69 Jacob, *The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus*, 510.

70 Otto Eissfeldt and W.F. Albright, "Protektorat der Midianiter uber ihre Nachbarn im Letzen Viertel des 2 Jahrtausends v. Chr.," *JBL* 87 (1968): 384; Römer, *The Invention of God*, 68.

71 Garber, "Amalek and Amalekut," 151.

72 As per Garber, 155; William Robertson Smith, "Early Relations of Arabia with Syria, and Particularly with Palestine" (Lecture, 1874), pt. 4, MS Add. 7476/H61; and Erasmus Gaß, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbuchs in historischer und redaktioneller Perspektive*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 35 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 357.

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recension to read not Amalek but עמק, "valley,"[73] and Soggin to propose a place named "Amalek" somewhere in the Pirathon/Farata region.[74] It could simply preserve the memory of some past defeat of Amalekites on a mountain of Ephraim, historical or otherwise, but it might also have something to do with Amalekites lurking in the background of Israel's identity.

Jethro is priest of Midian,[75] and other texts associate Midian with Yahweh and with Israel's early identity. We shall return to discuss Habakkuk 3 in more detail, but the end of God's "theophany from the South" that we will consider mentions Midian. Verse 7 reads, "I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction; the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble."[76] This is not a detached reference; v 7a corresponds to v 3a (in the theophany) in that both have subject + geographic term + verb, and v 7b corresponds to 3b with both having subject + variant geographic term.[77] So Midian is presented as akin to the locations from which Yahweh comes.

The "Cushan" in this passage is often used to identify the "Cush" of Moses' "Cushite" wife in Numbers 12 as another name for Midian and not Ethiopia,[78] thereby confirming the rabbinic view that Moses had only one wife: Zipporah the Midianite was that wife, and there was no second, Ethiopian wife.[79] Aḥituv identifies this Cush(an) with a Kush appearing in Execration Text E50–51 and the Tale of Sinuhe (B.220).[80] Such a reading of Numbers 12 is strained, however, as the larger point, "critique of both of Moses' marriages by establishing a clear boundary against foreign (Midianite/Cushite) women in the next generation, turning them into forbidden partners,"[81] is served by Cush having its ordinary meaning, Ethiopia. The Septuagint reads, "Ethiopia," and the context requires

73 Barnabas Lindars, *Judges 1–5* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), 253.

74 J. Alberto Soggin, *Le Livre des Juges*, Commentaire l'ancien Testament 5b (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1987), 83.

75 Paul Haupt, "Midan und Sinai," *ZDMG* 63 (1909), 506 fancifully derives the name from Me-Din, "Waters of Religion."

76 The Septuagint interprets Cushan as Cush, Ethiopia.

77 Theodore Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 38 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 84; Francis I. Andersen, *Habakkuk*, Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 283; Nili Shupak, "The God from Teman and the Egyptian Sun God: A Reconsideration of Habakkuk 3:3–7," *JANES* 28 (2001): 108; contra Shmuel Aḥituv, "The Sinai Theophany in the Psalm of Habakkuk," in *Birkat Shalom*, by C. Cohen, vol. 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 231.

78 Meik Gerhards, "Über die Herkunft der Frau des Mose," *VT* 55 (2005): 165, 167–68; André Lemaire, *The Birth of Monotheism: The Rise and Disappearance of Yahwism* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2007), 22; Erhard Blum, "Der historische Moses und die Frühgeschichte Israels," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 1 (2012): 50; Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, 89; Aḥituv, "The Sinai Theophany in the Psalm of Habakkuk," 232.

79 Shmuel Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984), 85, following Albright and Mazar.

80 Aḥituv, 85.

81 Adriane Leveen, "Inside Out: Jethro, the Midianites and a Biblical Construction of the Outsider," *JSOT* 34 (2010): 414, following Noth and Gray.

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this being a new marriage.[82] Exod 18:2 states that Moses had sent Zipporah away, i. e., divorced her.[83]

Midian also appears in the Song of Deborah, another "theophany from the South" to be examined below. Verse 10 reads, "Tell of it, you who ride on tawny donkeys, you rulers of Midian, and you who walk by the way." There really is no "context" here, as the "song" seems to be a mishmash of unrelated pieces. Most scholars read not Midian but "sitters on rich carpets [or saddle rugs]," but this is only possible if the root is *MDD* with the Aramaic plural.[84]

So what is a Midianite in the mind of the biblical writers? The biblical texts makes the Midianites the offspring of Abraham and his wife Keturah. They ranged widely (Gen 28:2); some are near to Sinai with Jethro (cf. 1 Kgs 11:17–18), others near to Mounts Tabor and Moreh (Judges 6; Isa 9:3; 10:26; Ps 83:10), still others far to the east at Karkor (Judg 8:10).[85] Midianites were both sedentary (Num 31:10; Josh 13:21) and nomadic (Exod 2:16–19; 3:1; Judg 8:11).[86] Judg 7:25 has retreating Midianite kings flee across the Jordan, and 1 Kings 11 places Midian itself south of Edom on the major trade routes extending from Arabia to Egypt and from both to Edom.[87] This makes Midian a broad area of what is now southwestern Jordan and northwestern Arabia, likely centered on the Wadi ʿIfal east of the Gulf of Aqaba as well as the plateau of Hisma beyond that.[88]

The term Midian does not appear in Ancient Near Eastern texts outside of the Bible. Classical (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 7.2, 27; Josephus *Ant.* 2.11.2) and Arabic geographers knew of a city named "Midama Madyan" in the Wadi ʿIfal east of the Gulf of Aqaba, probably modern Al-Bad.[89]

George Mendenhall's ideas about the Midianites deserve mention, since this was an important topic for him. Mendenhall equates the term "Cushite" in Num 21:1, the ethnicity of Moses' wife (assuming this is still Jethro's daughter) with Kashiya, a people the Jerusalem king Abdihepa claims tried to kill him and

82 Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, 328; there may be intended irony in Miriam being turned "leprous as snow" for insulting Moses for marrying a black woman, as argued by Dillmann and Cross.

83 George E. Mendenhall, "Midian (Person)," *ABD* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

84 J. David Schloen, "Caravans, Kenites, and Casus Belli: Enmity and Alliance in the Song of Deborah," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 26–27.

85 Yehuda Elitzur, Yehudah Ḳil, and Lenn J. Schramm, *The Daat Mikra Bible Atlas: A Comprehensive Guide to Biblical Geography and History* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 2011), 94, 178.

86 Elitzur, Ḳil, and Schramm, 76; Milgrom, *Numbers*, 257.

87 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 54–55.

88 Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 128.

89 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 55; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Μαδιαμα," *ZDMG* 135 (1985): 16–21; Ernst Axel Knauf, *Midian: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins 10 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 1.

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that Hittite texts place in Anatolia.[90] Assuming all of these strained postulates, the Midianites become immigrants from Anatolia, who Mendenhall believes went to Arabia by the end of the Late Bronze Age.[91] Mendenhall found further support in a Luwian town near to Arzawa named Mada, the gentilic of which would be *Madawana. Since the West Semitic shift w>y was well-attested, *Madawan would become Mad(a)yana, or Midian.[92] Mendenhall was able to come up with Hittite, Hurrian, and Luwian etymologies for the Midianite personal and place names of Numbers 31 and Joshua 13 (e.g., *Reba*ᶜ from *Arpiḫa, Kozbi* from *Kunzumpiya*), many of which he said had no good Semitic etymologies (e.g., *ʾEvi, Rekem*).[93] The proposed etymologies have not held up to scrutiny,[94] and in any case, personal names do not make good evidence for ethnic affiliations.[95]

Hobab is a Kenite. The biblical writers' concept of the Kenites is even more ambiguous than the Midianites. Judg 5:24 says the Kenites are "tent-dwellers." Gen 15:19 places the "Kenites and Kenizzites" in the land of Canaan. In Gen 36:11, the sons of Esau's grandson Eliphaz (father of Amalek) include both Kenaz and Teman. The two are linked again in vv 14–15, where the "chiefs of the sons of Esau" (Heb. אלופים, a term used only of Edomites and Horites [Exod 15:15]; LXX εγεμωνς) include Chief Teman and Chief Kenaz.[96] We have already seen an Edomite connection with Reuel.

Esau is associated with several regions by virtue of his three wives. Adah, as mother of Timna and Amalek and associated with the Kenites in Gen 4:19–24 (see below), represents the southern desert approaching the Gulf of Aqaba from the north. Basemat is the sister of Nebayot and the mother of Reuel, Nebayot associating her with the east side of the Arabah.[97] Oholibamah is explicitly located in Seir, and all three of her sons represent groups living just east of Beersheba.[98]

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90 George E. Mendenhall, *Ancient Israel's Faith and History* (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 2001), 32–33.

91 Mendenhall, 44, 51; for refutation, see Gary A. Rendsburg, A. D. Rubin, and John Huehnergard, "A Proper View of Arabic, Semitic, and More," *JAOS* 128 (2008): 536.

92 George E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 165.

93 Mendenhall, 167–70.

94 A similar reconstruction involving Hittite, Hurrian, and Kassite Midianites, at times relying on Mendenhall but largely independent, is that of Jacob E. Dunn, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron and From Whose Hills You May Mine Copper': A Transdisciplinary Approach to the Midianite-Qenite Hypothesis" (Diss., Penn State University, 2015), 27, 73–81.

95 Rendsburg, Rubin, and Huehnergard, "A Proper View of Arabic, Semitic, and More," 539.

96 Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 561 thought that at least some of this derived from an actual Edomite King List. Codex 277, the Venetian Bomberg ben Chayyim Bible (folio tome 4.1526) reads "Toman" in v 15.

97 There is no link between this name and the "Nabataeans"; Dhaifalleh al-Talhi, "Madain Salih, A Nabataean Town in North West Arabia" (Diss., University of Southampton, 2000), 7; Mahmud Abu Taleb, "Nabayati, Nebayot, Nabayat and Nabatu," *Dirasat* 11, no. 4 (1984): 3–10.

98 Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity*, 233 n. 95.

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Chronicles attempts to sort out the relationship of Kenites and Kenizzites and their relationship with Israel, but only makes things more confusing.[99] 1 Chron 4:13–15 identifies the *Kenizzites* as related to Caleb the spy, Caleb ben Jephunneh, following Num 32:12; Josh 14:6, 14; and Jdg 1:11–15.[100] Verse 15 makes Kenaz the grandson of Caleb, through Elah. Kenaz's grandson Joab is the "founder" of the Valley of חֲרָשִׁים, "so-called because they were smiths." This would have to be the Wadi Arabah.[101] Both "Kenizzite" and even more so, "Kenite" are related to the word "smith,"[102] and the burgeoning field of onomastic studies is finding that behind ethnonyms lie authentic traditions.[103] 1 Chron 1:36, however, agrees with Genesis 36 that Kenaz was a grandson of Esau, and nowhere is Caleb an Edomite. In this confused mess, the names of the descendants of Edom in 1 Chronicles 1 reappear as the names of the descendants of Jerahmeel in 1 Chronicles 2, and Othniel is somehow both nephew of Caleb *and* son of Kenaz, as he is in Judg 1:13.[104]

This provides data (but little information) about the Kenizzites, but not the Kenites. 1 Chronicles 2 makes the Kenites the descendents of Hur, son of Caleb ben Hezron. This Caleb is a great-grandson of Judah, so in theory cannot be the same as Caleb ben Jephunneh, yet the Talmud (*Sotah* 11b) says they are identical. Abraham Kuenen agreed, as did Walter Beltz in his monograph on Caleb, rightly seeing it as evidence that the Hebrew Bible could never quite decide if the Kenites (and Kenizzites) were non-Israelites or part of Judah.[105]

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99 Zev Farber, "The Kenite Redaction," paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (Denver, 2018).

100 Thomas Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner Sesshaften Nachbarn*, OBO 107 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1991), 166.

101 Nelson Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1959), 133.

102 Nelson Glueck, "Kenites and Kenizzites," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (January 1940), 22; Marlene E. Mondriaan, "The Rise of Yahwism" (Diss. University of Pretoria, 2010), 313.

103 Kenton L. Sparks, "Israel and the Nomads of Ancient Palestine," in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 21; Stefan Brink, "Reading Cult and Mythology in Society and Landscape," in *Nordic Mythologies: Interpretations, Intersections and Istitutions*, ed. Timothy R. Tangherlini, Wildcat Canyon Advanced Seminars Mythology 1 (Berkeley: North Pinehurst Press, 2014), 169; Per Vikstrand, "Sacral Place-Names in Scandinavia," *Onoma* 37 (2002): 121. I assign no technical meaning to "tradition," a term with no unanimous definition and therefore little analytic value; Anna-Leena Siikala, "The Mythic Narratives," in *Folklore and Discourse*, ed. Jawaharlal Handoo and Anna-Leena Siikala, ISFNR XIth Congress Papers 4 (Mysore: Zooni, 1999), 132.

104 Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 134.

105 Abraham Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1874) vol. 1, 178–79; Walter Beltz, *Die Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament*, BWANT 98 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974), 73; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," *JSOT* 33 (2008): 144.

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1 Chron 2:55 mentions the "Kenites who descend from Hammath, the father of the Rechabites." Knights interpreted this as "Kenites who came from Hamath, capital of Beth Rechab,"[106] but there is no such place and Hammath here is a personal name, not a place name.[107] Given what is elsewhere said about Rechabites, the former reading is preferable.[108] Rabbinic tradition made the Rechabites descendants of Jethro (*T. Sanh.* 106a; *Exodus Rabbah* 1.12; *Mekhilta* to Exod 18:27; *Sifre* Numbers 78; *Yalkut Shimoni* Prophets 38), always with reference to 1 Chron 2:55.[109]

The Deuteronomistic History provides some geographic assignments for these peoples.[110] Judges 1:11–15 puts the Calebites just west of the Dead Sea near to Debir. Verse 16 puts the Kenites just to their south, although 1 Sam 15:5–7 and 27:10 stretch their territory through all of what is now called the Negev, to the southern tip at Eilat.[111] Judges 4, however, presents a clan of Kenites who had migrated into the Jezreel Valley.[112] 1 Sam 27:10 places the Jerahmeelites and Kenizzites west of the Kenites, from Aroer southwest.[113] West of them are Amalekites, according to 1 Sam 15; 27:8; 30:1–2, although Amalekites, too, range widely (compare Gen 14:2; Exod 17:8–16; Judg 3:13; 6–7; 12; 1 Sam 14:48; 15:7) and are regularly in and around Edom (e.g., 1 Chron 4:42–43).[114] Unlike the camel-riding Ishmaelites, Amalekites are depicted as sheep and goat pastoralists.[115]

106 Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 108; also Knights, "The Rechabites in the Bible and in Jewish Tradition to the Time of Rabbi David Kimhi," 74.

107 Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 107–8.

108 Johann D. Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, trans. A. Smith (London: Rivington, 1814), 1.228; Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert*, 142; Paula McNutt, *The Forging of Israel*, Social World of Biblical Antiquity 8 (Sheffield: Almond, 1990), 243; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Keniter," in *Das Wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet* (www.wibilex.de), 2007, permalink: https://www.academic-bible.com/en/keyword/23400/.

109 Knights, "The Rechabites in the Bible and in Jewish Tradition to the Time of Rabbi David Kimhi," 20.

110 Horst Seebass, "Einige Vertrauenswürdige Nachrichten zu Israels Anfängen," *JBL* 113 (1994): 578.

111 Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert*, 132; Othmar Keel and Max Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*, vol. 2: *Der Süden* (Cologne: Benziger, 1982), 261. There is nothing, however, to identify the hypothetical chiefdom at Tel Masos as Kenite, as per Knauf, "Keniter."

112 The "City of Palms," from which they migrate, is not Jericho but in the south, near Edom, probably the same as "Tamar"; Gaß, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbuchs in historischer und redaktioneller Perspektive*, 30, 37–38.

113 Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert*, 136; Knauf, "Keniter."

114 Michael D. Oblath, *The Exodus Itinerary Sites: Their Locations from the Perspective of the Biblical Sources*, Studies in Biblical Literature 55 (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 143; Garber, "Amalek and Amalekut," 151; Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*, 159.

115 Sparks, "Israel and the Nomads of Ancient Palestine," 20.

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The Kenites also appear in the Oracles of Balaam.[116] The Oracles are unlike the surrounding prose and do not depend on that narrative for sense. Milgrom and Hackett date them to the 9th century, since Num 24:17–18 allude to David's conflict with Edom and Moab and 24:7, 20 to Saul's conflict with Amalek,[117] while Knauf dates them to the Hellenistic period.[118] I do not see clear references to Saul and David and would date the verses even earlier linguistically than Milgrom and Hackett.[119] I note in Num 23:9, for example, the reflex of the *yaqtulu* (long, or prefixing) form as a *present* progressive,[120] the enclitic *mem* in 23:10 functioning to preserve the archaic genitive case ending,[121] the archaic nominative case ending in 23:18 and 24:3.

The prophecy to the Kenites reads:

24:21 And he looked on the Kenite, and took up his discourse and said,
"Permanent is your dwelling place,
and your nest [קֵן, a pun on Kain[122]] is set in the rock [or in Sela].
22 Nevertheless,[123] Kain shall be burned [lit. "become fuel," a pun on smithing][124]
until Asshur takes you away captive."[125]

If the reading in v 21 is Sela, following Glueck,[126] this is a place name, mentioned in Judg 1:36 (but not Judg 20:45–47); 2 Kgs 14:7; and Isa 16:1 (where read not

116 The name Balaam is also known in North Arabian, as in the Sabaean Blʿcm; Mendenhall, "Qurayya and the Midianites," 139, 145 fig. 39.

117 Milgrom, *Numbers*.

118 Knauf, "Keniter."

119 Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 56–57.

120 Tania Notarius, *The Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 105, 141, 181, 221, 282; Na'ama Pat-El and Aren M. Wilson-Wright, "Features of Archaic Biblical Hebrew and the Linguistic Dating Debate," *Hebrew Studies* 54 (2013): 400; Yigal Bloch, "Syntactic Archaism in Biblical Hebrew," in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, ed. Geoffrey Khan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), online edition.

121 W. Randall Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 100, 103; M. M. Bravmann, *Studies in Semitic Philology*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 216; Bruce K. Waltke and Michael Patrick O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 185. On linguistic dating, see below.

122 The name seems particularly prone to puns. The *Vita Adami et Evae* (1st century AD?) 21:3 has baby Cain bring Eve a reed, reflecting a Hebrew pun on קנה, "reed."

123 Following G. H. A. Ewald, *Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1879), 274.

124 Fritz Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (London: SPCK, 1897), 243 thought metathesis had taken place and the correct reading was "Kain shall belong to the ʿEber," sc. become Hebrews.

125 Milgrom, *Numbers, sub loc.*, does not think this is Assyria, which would necessitate a somewhat late date, but the Asshurim of Num 24:24; Gen 25:3, 18; and Ps 83:9.

126 Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert*, 134.

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"from Sela to the desert" but "Sela in the desert"[127]), either Umm el-Biyara at Petra or es-Sela further to the north.[128] It is listed in the oracle against Edom in Amos 1 along with Teman, Bozrah, and Aqaba, and in Judg 3:1–5 marks the border of the Amorites (not to be emended to "Edomites").[129] Milgrom interprets the "he saw" in v 21 literally, so that Balaam must be able to physically see the Kenites from Moab, but this seems unnecessary in a prophecy.[130]

As scholar after scholar has noted, the biblical text's significant antipathy toward Midian (e.g., Num 25:6–8, 17; 31; Judges 6–7; and Edom and Amalek) supports the historicity of a Midianite connection at an early period and a religious connection at that.[131] The connection is reiterated in three separate places: Exodus; Numbers 10; and Judges 1 and 4. In the core traditions of the Exodus narrative, as Kenton Sparks writes, "The Midianites prove crucial to the very survival of Moses and his mission":[132] as guides in the desert, in the subdivision of society, and potentially as an adjunct to the Israelite community although Jethro declines the invitation.[133] Moreover, the oldest traditions say the name "Yahweh" was learned in Midian.[134] The Kenites are always portrayed as Yahwistic (e.g., Judg 4:17; 5:24;

127 William Lowth, *A Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah* (London: W. Taylor, 1714), 135.

128 Shalom M. Paul, *Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 63; Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, eds., *Christentum am Roten Meer* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973), 2.233; Gaß, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbuchs in historischer und redaktioneller Perspektive*, 181–83.

129 Zecharia Kallai, "The Southern Border of the Land of Israel (1986)," in *Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography: Collection of Studies*, BEATAJ 44 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), 215.

130 Milgrom, *Numbers*, 207.

131 Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 168; Brevard S. Childs, *Exodus*, Old Testament Library (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 1975), 325–26; Roland de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminister, 1978), 330; ed. Antonius H. J. Gunneweg, "Mose in Madian," in *Sola Scriptura,* ed. Peter Höffken (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 42–43; Herbert Schmid, *Gestalt des Mose*, Erträge der Forschung 237 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), 101–3; McNutt, *The Forging of Israel*, 247; Seebass, "Einige Vertrauenswürdige Nachrichten zu Israels Anfängen," 579; Henning Graf Reventlow, *Die Eigenart Des Jahwesglaubens*, Biblisch-Theologische Studien 66 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004), 16; Leveen, "Inside Out," 397. Perhaps not Edom, as Elie Assis, *Identity in Conflict: The Struggle between Esau and Jacob, Edom and Israel*, Siphrut : Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures 19 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 73 shows hostility to Edom was not rooted in preexilic thought. On the historical strength of such traditions, see Siikala, "The Mythic Narratives," 139; Blum, "Der historische Moses und die Fruhgeschichte Israels," 52; Römer, *The Invention of God*, 58–59. Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, 334 disagrees, arguing they must not be Midianites at all, but always Kenites: "Enemies remain enemies, and had always been so!"

132 Sparks, "Israel and the Nomads of Ancient Palestine," 13; Leveen, "Inside Out," 403. The Karaite Joseph HaRofe's *Sefer ha-Mibhar* (1293) said that the Jethro narrative was written to make known the distinction between Jethro and the closely-related Amalekites.

133 Mendenhall, "Qurayya and the Midianites," 137.

134 Karl Budde, *Die Relgion des Volks Israel bis zur Verbannung*, Amerikanische Religionswissenschaftliche Vorlesungen 4 (Giessen: J. Ricker'sche, 1900), 16–18; Leuenberger, *Gott in*

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1 Sam 15:6; 27:10; 30:29).[135] They are connected with the Rechabites, whose zeal for Yahwism was renowned, untouched by "Canaanite cults" – precisely the "Ugarit-free" I am after in this study, and who abstained from alcohol.[136]

The nature of the Kenites expands when they are connected with Cain.[137] The spelling is identical, and in fact the word translated "Kenite(s)" in Num 24:22 and Judg 4:11 is simply "Cain."[138] The only problem would be that the line of Cain ought to have been exterminated in the Flood, although such issues are often overlooked in the Hebrew Bible.

Cain is cursed to a nomadic existence (and exiled to "Nod," a calembour on נָד, "wander"[139]) like that ascribed to the Kenites (and Midianites and Amalekites), and his descendant Jabal is the forefather of all tent-dwelling herders.[140] Cain is both cursed and marked as immune from violence, a characteristic we shall see typical of smiths.[141] The "mark of Yahweh" might even have something to do with the divine name and its Kenite associations.[142] The name קין can be translated "smith,"[143] and Cain's descendants will be the first smiths (through Tubal-Cain),[144]

Bewegung, 18; Gunneweg and Höffken, "Mose in Madian," 41; Lemaire, *The Birth of Monotheism*, 20–21.

135 Budde, *Die Religion des Volks Israel bis zur Verbannung*, 15.

136 Mondriaan, "The Rise of Yahwism," 407–407, 411; Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert*, 142–43. Abstention from alcohol is a trait perhaps associated with Arabian tribes if its promotion in the last chapters of Proverbs is attributed to a supposed Arabian tribe Massa, although Dubravko Turalija, "Proverbs 30: The Epistemology of a Teacher" (Diss., The Catholic University of America, 2014), 80–81, 92 has shown that to be extremely unlikely.

137 John Day, "Cain and the Kenites," in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*, ed. Gershon Galil, Markham J. Geller, and A. R. Millard, VTSup 130 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 335–36; Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," 140, following Ewald, Wellhausen, Stade, Meyer, Gunkel, Mowinckel, Von Rad, S. R. Driver, Soggin, and Scullion.

138 Siegfried Mittmann, "Ri. 1,16f und das Siedlungsgebiet der Kenitischen Sippe Hobab," *ZDPV* 93 (1977): 214; Day, "Cain and the Kenites," 335–36.

139 Jocelyne Tarneaud, *D'Adam à Jacob*, La Bible Pas à Pas 1 (Paris: Lethielleux, 2015), 67.

140 Mondriaan, "The Rise of Yahwism," 322; Knauf, "Keniter"; Geoffrey P. Miller, "Nomadism, Dependency, Slavery and Nationhood: Comparative Politics in the Book of Exodus," New York University Public Law and Legal Theory Workshop Papers 213, 2010, 5, http://lsr.nellco.org/nyu_plltwp/213; Paula McNutt, "'Fathers of the Empty Spaces' and 'Strangers Forever': Social Marginality and the Construction of Space," in *Imagining Biblical Worlds*, JSOTSup 359 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 48.

141 Mondriaan, "The Rise of Yahwism," 327, 330; McNutt, *The Forging of Israel*, 240.

142 Saner, "YHWH, the Trinity, and the Literal Sense," 58.

143 Gerhards, "Über die Herkunft Der Frau Des Mose," 171. One cannot, however, follow Nissim Amzallag and Shamir Yona, "Differentiation of the Qayin Family of Roots in Biblical Hebrew," *Semitica* 59 (2017): 297–332 in making every word containing *qof* and *nun*, from "to create" to "jealous," about metallurgy.

144 John F. A. Sawyer, "Cain and Hephaestus," *Abr-Nahrain* 24 (1986): 161–62 suggests a slights repointing from תּוּבַל קַיִן—לֹטֵשׁ, "Tubal-Cain, forger…," to קַיִן־לֹטֵשׁ תּוּבַל, "Tubal, swordsmith [armourer]." Contra Uzi Avner, "Har Shani," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 1 (1982): 144, there

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as well as the first musicians (through Jubal), a profession commonly associated with smiths (see Chapter Seven).[145] As we shall see, the third brother, Jabal, ancestor of nomadic pastoralists, is also of great importance. Given that the names Jubal and Jabal differ by only a single vocable, I am inclined to translate the latter half of Tubal-Cain's name and make him "Tubal the smith."[146] The *Zohar* (1.55a) made Cain's daughter, Naamah, the progenitor of prostitutes, albeit turning her into a succubus-like demon, as well.[147] The son of Cain, Henoch, in Gen 4:17, reappears as the son of Midian in Gen 25:4 (and 1 Chron 1:33).[148] Cain's descendant Lamech (Gen 4:18) has a wife with the same name, Adah, as Esau's wife, the mother of Eliphaz and grandmother of Amalek.[149]

The origins of the name Yahweh in Midian, a Midian/Kenite who worships Yahweh before the Exodus, both early traditions, and the identity of the ethnic groups involved as nomadic smiths,[150] led over a century ago to the so-called Kenite Hypothesis. Often the poetic passages ascribing "southern origins" to Yahweh himself, to be discussed below, were allied to the theory.[151]

The Kenite Hypothesis was first proposed by Friedrich Wilhelm Ghillany, who under the alias of Richard von der Alm wrote *Theologische Briefe an die Gebildeten der deutschen Nation* in 1862.[152] For him, the hypothesis was literal: Moses learned the "Cultus dieses arabischen Stammes der Midianiter" while sojourning with Jethro.[153]

In its usual form, a less literal version viewed Yahweh as originally the god of the Kenites (or Midianites), from whom Israel adopted both the divine name and some usually-undefined theology.[154] Stade, Budde, Gressmann, Burney, Barton,

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is no evidence that the Pre-Islamic Banu al-Qayn tribe of Jordan were Jewish smiths or of great antiquity; P. Kyle McCarter, "Cain and the Kenites" (Paper presented to the Society of Biblical Literature Mid-Atlantic Regional Meeting, New Brunswick, NJ, 2012).

145 Knauf, "Keniter"; Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner Sesshaften Nachbarn*, 152–53, 167; this connection was already noted by Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 3.16.1; Ruth Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik: Über die traditionelle Verknüpfung von Schmiedehandwerk und Musik in Afrika, Asien und Europa*, Orpheus-Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik 37 (Bonn: Verlag für systematische Musikwissenschaft, 1984), 16–17.

146 Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik*, 18.

147 Tarneaud, *D'Adam à Jacob*, 67.

148 Gerhards, "Über die Herkunft der Frau des Mose," 170; Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," 144; Day, "Cain and the Kenites," 340.

149 Sawyer, "Cain and Hephaestus," 159; McNutt, "'Fathers of the Empty Spaces' and 'Strangers Forever'," 49.

150 It was already known that Midian was a source of tin; M. Reyer, "The Beginnings of Metallurgy," *Popular Science*, May 1884.

151 H. H. Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua* (London: British Academy, 1950), 148–59.

152 Richard von der Alm, *Theologische Briefe an die Gebildeten der deutschen Nation* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1862).

153 Alm, *Theologische Briefe an die Gebildeten der deutschen Nation*, 480.

154 Nyström, *Beduinentum und Jahwismus*, 110.

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Morgenstern, Rowley, Mowinckel, Albright, Noth, De Vaux, Gray, Mendenhall, and Cross all held this view.[155] For some – Robinson, Oesterley, Rowley – the Kenite Hypothesis served to make Yahwism a matter of "conversion," which appealed to their Evangelical theologies.[156] Zeal for Yahweh passed down, then, from the Kenites to their offspring the Rechabites.[157]

Two scholars pushed the Kenite Hypothesis to ridiculous proportions. In what Hugo Gressmann called "Winckler's altorientalische Phantasiebild,"[158] Hugo Winckler identified in the annals of Tiglath-Pilesar III and elsewhere a place named "Musri" that was not Egypt and that he thought was in northern Arabia.[159] It was this Musri to which Abraham migrated in Genesis 16, adopting Yahwism from North Arabia but at a much earlier time than Moses.[160]

T. K. Cheyne thought "Babylon" in much of the Hebrew Bible was itself in North Arabia, deriving *Babel* from *Rakbul*.[161] But most of the references to Arabia in the Bible were to Jerahmeel;[162] "Judahites were frequent visitors in Yerahmeelite sanctuaries."[163] This was possible because in many places where the text said something else (like, say, "*Mēʾah*"), it really meant Jerahmeel.[164] Everywhere the Tetragrammaton appeared in Proverbs 8, for example, the text originally read "Jerahmeel."[165] Henry Preserved Smith called this all "a colossal mystification."[166]

In the 20th century, scholars expanded on the fact that the Kenite were nomadic smiths. Beginning with Max Weber and W. F. Albright, biblical scholars read and used anthropological scholarship on metallurgy in Africa about how smiths were social pariahs (like Cain),[167] endogamous but non-ethnic groups – as the Kenites seemed to be – combined with notions coming from V. Gordon Childe

155 Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh*, 20–21; Roland de Vaux, "Sur l'origine kenite ou madianite du Yahvisme," *EI* 9 (1969), 28–32; Bernard Stade, "Das Kainszeichen," *ZAW* 14 (1894): 255–56, 286–87; Albright, "Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph," 139; Nyström, *Beduinentum und Jahwismus*, 86; Mendenhall, "Midian (Person)"; Marlene E. Mondriaan, "Who Were the Kenites?," *OTE* 24 (2011): 426.

156 Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 96.

157 Karl Budde, "The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament," *The New World* 4 (1895): 726–28; Nyström, *Beduinentum und Jahwismus*, 109; Rice, "Africans and the Origins of the Worship of Yahweh," 32.

158 Hugo Gressmann, "Winckler's Altorientalische Phantasiebild," *ZWT* 49 (1906): 289–309.

159 Hugo Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen* (Leipzig: Pfeifer, 1893), 1.1.24–25, 29.

160 Winckler, 1.1.30.

161 T. K. Cheyne, *Fresh Voyages on Unfrequented Waters* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1914), xiv, 7.1914

162 T. K. Cheyne, "Pressing Needs of the Old Testament Study," *The Hibbert Journal* (1903): 755.

163 Cheyne, *Fresh Voyages on Unfrequented Waters*, xviii, citing Job 3:5, 8; Isaiah 65–66.

164 Cheyne, "Pressing Needs of the Old Testament Study," 760.

165 Cheyne, *Fresh Voyages on Unfrequented Waters*, xix.

166 Henry Preserved Smith, "Israel or Jerahmeel?" *AJT* 11 (1907): 554.

167 Meta Brinkmann, "Ein Verlorener Bruderstamm?," *Der Morgen* 6 (1938): 237 was one of the first.

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about itinerant smiths as culture-bearers.[168] Unfortunately, the anthropological literature was itself based on the casual observations by colonial administrators and travelers undertaken as much as a century earlier and always before anthropological fieldwork had begun.[169]

The Kenite Hypothesis in its essence is still espoused by some biblical scholars today.[170] Thomas Römer's 2015 *Invention of God* "*Start*[*s*] with the assumption" of the Kenite Hypothesis.[171] Joseph Blenkinsopp's 2008 essay "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited" outlined points that remain valid, concluding, "This hypothesis provides the best explanation currently available of the relevant literary and archaeological data."[172] Some of these points include the Ancient Near Eastern material that will be examined in subsequent chapters herein, but several points derive from the biblical text itself. Via Cain and from their own descriptions, the Kenites were a semi-nomadic quasi-ethnic group (quasi, because they were and were not Midianites[173] or Edomites[174]), known for metallurgy and music.[175] Of the two traditions for the origin of Yahweh-worship, that in Gen 4:26 immediately follows the story of Cain and that in Exodus occurs in the Kenite-Midianite community.[176] Through Caleb (Num 13:6, 30; 14:24; Josh 14:13–14) and through the Rechabites, the Kenites are renowned for Yahwistic zeal.[177]

Blenkinsopp, however, goes I judge too far.[178] He believes Numbers 25 suggests an important sanctuary at Baal Peor that was a "place of covenanting involving Simeonite Israelites, Midianites, and Moabites,"[179] at a time at the end of the

168 Christopher P. Thornton and Benjamin W. Roberts, "Introduction: The Beginnings of Metallurgy in Global Perspective," *Journal of World Prehistory* 22 (2009): 181.

169 Peter R. Schmidt, "Cultural Representations of African Iron Production," in *The Culture and Technology of African Iron Production*, ed. Peter R. Schmidt (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 11; Peter R. Schmidt, *Iron Technology in East Africa: Symbolism, Science, and Archaeology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press; James Currey, 1997), 1. R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1950), 63–64, 103–4 cites sources from 1859, 1870, 1878, 1909, 1912, etc.

170 Most recently, Mark Leuchter, *The Levites and the Boundaries of Israelite Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

171 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 82, italics added.

172 Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," 151.

173 Blenkinsopp, 144.

174 Blenkinsopp, 149.

175 Blenkinsopp, 140; also McCarter, "Cain and the Kenites."

176 Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," 141.

177 Blenkinsopp, 142–43; McCarter, "Cain and the Kenites."

178 So, too, thinks Blum, "Der historische Moses und die Frühgeschichte Israels," 54.

179 Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," 147. The name Peor is known in North Arabian, although Mendenhall claims it is of Anatolian origin; Mendenhall, "Qurayya and the Midianites," 139, 145 fig. 39; linking the word to the "Karatepe Phoenician version" of Luwian *paḫura*, he concludes from this episode that Yahweh was originally a Midianite god of fire, plague, and sacred prostitution; "Qurayya," 143–44.

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Late Bronze Age when "we find several tribes – Kenites, Kenizzites, Calebites, Jerahmeelites, Judahites, Simeonites and Levites – moving into the northern Sinai and the Negev."[180] I question our ability to assess the historicity of a shrine at Baal Peor, of such migrations, even of the existence of actual tribes called "Calebites" or "Jerahmeelites."[181] Moreover, although Cain is condemned to wandering, it is Abel who is the shepherd, Cain the crop farmer, and Cain's descendants are the founders of the first cities.[182]

The work of Paula McNutt is mixed. Much of her 21st-century scholarship is excellent, as will be seen, while there are problems in some of her essays published in the 1990s. "The Kenites, the Midianites, and the Rechabites as Marginal Mediators in Ancient Israelite Tradition" (1994) most directly applies the Kenite Hypothesis, and there she explicitly claims to be supporting the older Kenite Hypothesis,[183] although she is aware that "none of the terms used for identifying artisans or smiths in the biblical traditions is attached to the Kenites, Midianites, or Rechabites."[184] She notes the same valid evidence that Blenkinsopp would later outline,[185] also listing points he would not: the strength supplied to the Midianite traditions by the negative animus towards them elsewhere in the Bible, and the Midianite clan in Gen 25:3 named Letushim, from the root לטש, "to forge."[186]

Her root-etymology turns out to a quite justifiable practice: we now know that Barr was wrong about the "root fallacy."[187] Socio-linguistic studies of Semitic language speakers over the past decade have found "Root-extraction as a well-established process among even the younger children,"[188] even if they have never been told their language is root-based. Semitic language speakers routinely file words by root "in the mental lexicon…unrestricted by semantic factors,"[189] and

180 Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," 148.

181 Cf. Gershon Galil, "The Jerahmeelites and the Negeb of Judah," *JANES* 28 (2001): 33–42. Similar uncritical "reliance is placed on biblical associations" occurs in Dunn, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron and From Whose Hills You May Mine Copper,'" 15, 76.

182 Armand Abecassis, "L'experiénce du désert dans la mentalite hebraique," in *Les mystiques du désert dans l'Islam, le Judaïsme et le Christianisme* (Gordes: Association des amis de Sénanque, 1975), 112, 115.

183 Paula McNutt, "The Kenites, the Midianites, and the Rechabites as Marginal Mediators in Ancient Israelite Tradition," *Semeia* 67 (1994): 111.

184 McNutt, 112.

185 McNutt, 113–15, 117.

186 McNutt, 115.

187 James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 100, 107–10, 158–60.

188 Ruth A. Berman, "Children's Lexical Innovations," in *Language Processing and Acquisition in Languages of Semitic, Root-Based, Morphology*, ed. Joseph Shimron; Language Acquisition & Language Disorders 28 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2003), 260, 272, as early as age three.

189 Joseph Shimron, "Semitic Languages—Are They Really Root-Based?," in *Language Processing and Acquisition in Languages of Semitic, Root-Based, Morphology*, ed. Joseph Shimron; Language Acquisition & Language Disorders 28 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2003), 20.

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young children invent imaginary words from triliteral roots.[190] Moreover, people use the etymologies they "read" in words to link concepts,[191] and the proof of this is the many myths that are based on folk etymologies.[192]

For McNutt, problems instead come in when she turns to African societies, where smiths have "marginal status" and in West Africa are "respected and feared" while in East Africa "they are perceived as dangerous sorcerers."[193] Now, much of that is true, as will be shown in Chapter Seven, but no primary references are given for the information. In her 1999 "In the Shadow of Cain," sources for East African societies are from 1905 and 1931,[194] which simply will not do. When stating "The pattern in traditional Middle Eastern Bedouin societies basically conforms with that identified for East African pastoral societies," some of the sources are from 1931 and 1951 (1927 and 1928 in the 1999 essay).[195] The anthropological theory that then gives shape to the role these "marginal mediators" play is that of Arnold van Gennep (1909), Edmund Leach, Max Weber, Mary Douglas, and Victor Turner.[196] In the end, the most serious problem is extending this role far beyond the Kenite Hypothesis, as "Midianite traders are ultimately responsible for mediating the symbolic 'death' of Jacob's family by transporting Joseph to Egypt"[197] and as Joshua leads the Israelites through the Jordan river and like the tempering of steel, "they are 'quenched' and reborn."[198]

We cannot be so certain as to say with Mondriaan, that the Kenites "Were a nomadic or semi-nomadic tribe of coppersmiths who inhabited the rocky country south of Tel Arad … as early as the thirteenth century,"[199] but let us review what we can say. Via Cain and from their own descriptions, the Kenites were a semi-nomadic quasi-ethnic group (Midianites or Edomites, but also not), known

190 Berman, "Children's Lexical Innovations," 271.

191 Boris Upensky, "The Influence of Language on Religious Consciousness," *Semiotica* 10 (2009): 179–80.

192 Upensky, 183–84.

193 McNutt, "Kenites, Midianites, and Rechabites," 118.

194 Paula McNutt, "In the Shadow of Cain," *Semeia* 87 (1999): 48.

195 McNutt, "Kenites, Midianites, and Rechabites," 119; McNutt, "In the Shadow of Cain," 49.

196 McNutt, "Kenites, Midianites, and Rechabites," 120–23; McNutt, "In the Shadow of Cain," 47, 52.

197 McNutt, "Kenites, Midianites, and Rechabites," 125.

198 McNutt, 125. In his response, Don C. Benjamin, "A Response to McNutt: 'The Kenites, the Midianites, and the Rechabites as Marginal Mediators in Ancient Israelite Tradition,'" *Semeia*, 1994, 133 speaks of "Kenites who smelt, carburize, forge, and quench the household of Jacob into tools and weapons." Nissim Amzallag, "Yahweh, the Canaanite God of Metallurgy?" *JSOT* 33 (2009): 387–404, also has an unusual variant on the Kenite Hypothesis. He believes the Mark of Cain is the Taw on the forehead of Ezekiel 9, that Zechariah 6 describes God as dwelling at two mountains of copper, that the burning bush was meant to recall smelting charcoal, that Enki, Ptah, Hathor, and Bes are all gods of metallurgy, and that Jacob's hip wound when wrestling God at Penuel is homologous to Hephaestus' limp.

199 Mondriaan, "Who Were the Kenites?," 416.

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for metallurgy and music. Kalimi claims there is no evidence for this and that the text identifies them only as shepherds (Judg 4:11, 17; 1 Sam 27:8–10),[200] but this is to ignore Cain (and the Kenizzites) entirely, and discount the etymology of "Kenite."[201] Israel could not get away from a tradition that these people were Yahweh-worshippers before Israel, and that Yahweh in name at least entered Israel at least partially through their influence, from the region just to the north and east of the Gulf of Aqaba.[202] Through the Rechabites, the Kenites were renowned for Yahwistic zeal. This must, I judge, be set alongside the recurrent early tradition that "Yahweh comes from the south," from the same region of the southern Negev desert, which will be examined shortly. Is this a coherent message of the text? No, but we should not assume that the biblical writers intended to write the most systematic contributions possible on the origins of Yahweh.[203]

Nevertheless, Brevard Childs's critique still applies. He worried that the Kenite Hypothesis merely picked and chose texts without tracing thoroughly a *Traditionsgeschichte*.[204] So let me first try to sort out some traditions history of the Kenite Hypothesis.

Let us break Traditions History down into two distinct methods. The first of these is forward moving diachronically, although its roots are synchronic. Behind the method is the notion that we must explore as fully as possible the contexts of texts and social processes.[205] Every explanation that scholars provide for a text must be a situated, contextual understanding.[206] That is a canon of intellectual history, of functional pragmatics, and of historical-critical biblical scholarship.[207]

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200 Isaac Kalimi, "Three Assumptions about the Kenites," *ZAW* 100 (1988): 387–88.

201 Day, "Cain and the Kenites," 342–44; Knauf, "Keniter."

202 P. Kyle McCarter, "Origins of Israelite Religion," in *The Rise of Ancient Israel*, ed. Hershel Shanks (Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1992), 134.

203 Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Ideas* 8 (1969): 15–18; Skinner's essay remains foundational a half-century later, in spite of its overly ambitious agenda; Richard Whatmore, *What Is Intellectual History?* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2015), 46, 54.

204 Childs, *Exodus*, 322–33.

205 J. Mason, "Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way," *Qualitative Research* 6 (2006): 16.

206 Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," 22, 39–40; Dominick LaCapra, "Tropisms of Intellectual History," *Rethinking History* 8 (2004): 502; Mason, "Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way," 17; Christopher Butler, "Functional Approaches to Language," in *The Dynamics of Language Use,* ed. Christopher Butler, Ma de los Ángeles Gómez González, and Susana Ma Doval Suárez, Pragmatics & beyond, n.s. 140 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2005), 5, 9; Riccardo Bavaj, "Intellectual History," *Docupedia—Zeitgeschichte*, (September 13, 2010), 4, http://docupedia.de/zg/Intellectual_History.

207 On the development of Intellectual History or History of Ideas, see Brian Lewis, "The Newest Social History," in *Sage Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (Los Angeles: Sage, 2013), 233–34; Anthony Grafton, "The History of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67 (2006): 5, 18, 24, 27; LaCapra, "Tropisms of Intellectual History," 502, 511; Bavaj, "Intellectual History," 1–2, 4.

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The biblical text, however, is the work of many centuries. Passages of text or the distinct ideas I am calling memorats (to avoid the loaded term "theologoumena") can and should be seriated.[208] That is Traditions History in one direction, and in many endeavors, it will be all we seek to do.

At times, however, including in the present study, we are trying to reconstruct a stage in the sequence before the time of the text. Hermann Gunkel was after such things, and its most interesting form today goes under the epithet of "Retrospective Methods": "Working one's way back into early times on the basis of late material,"[209] pioneered in the work of folkloric scholars John Lindow, Jonathan Roper, Merrill Kaplan, Eldar Heide, Terry Gunnell, and Frog. Texts, particularly those emerging and performed in oral societies, are never created *de novo*, as I have shown elsewhere.[210] If even the earliest texts of a Traditions History are thoroughly indebted to earlier praxis and lore, then even though they may not be "historically accurate," they are full of useful material for "working back"—mixed in with later material.[211]

The Kenite Hypothesis, or that portion of it that seems most clear, can be broken down into a set of memorats:

Siglum	Memorat	Texts
α	Kenites/Midianites worship Yahweh	Exod 18:1, 9–12; Judg 1:16; 4–5
β	Kenites nomadic	1 Sam 30:26–31
γ	Kenites ≈ Midianites	Num 10:29 // Judg 4:11
δ	Cain=nomadic, metal, music	Gen 4:12, 15, 20–22

208 A. O. Lovejoy, "The Study of the History of Ideas," in *The History of Ideas*, ed. Preston King (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1983), 188–89; Frog, "Revisiting the Historical-Geographic Method(s)," *Retrospective Methods Network Newsletter* 7 (2013): 50. My use of the term "memorat" is not technically accurate; see Lauri Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 1 (1964): 6–7, 12.

209 Eldar Heide and Karen Bek-Pedersen, "Why a New Focus on Retrospective Methods?," in *New Focus on Retrospective Methods: Resuming Methodological Discussions: Case Studies from Northern Europe*, ed. Eldar Heide and Karen Bek-Pedersen, Folklore Fellows' Communications 307 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2014), 12.

210 Robert D. Miller II, *Oral Tradition in Ancient Israel*, Biblical Performance Criticism 4 (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2011), 51–52.

211 Terry Gunnell, "Nordic Folk Legends, Folk Traditions and Grave Mounds," in *New Focus on Retrospective Methods: Resuming Methodological Discussions: Case Studies from Northern Europe*, ed. Eldar Heide and Karen Bek-Pedersen, Folklore Fellows' Communications 307 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2014), 20–21; Matthias Egeler, "A Retrospective Methodology for Using Landnamabok as a Source for the Religious History of Iceland?" *Retrospective Methods Network Newsletter* 10 (2015): 78; Frog, "German Traditions of the Theft of the Thunder-Instrument (ATU 1148B)," in *New Focus on Retrospective Methods: Resuming Methodological Discussions*, ed. Eldar Heide and Karen Bek-Pedersen; Folklore Fellows' Communications 307 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2014), 123.

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Siglum	Memorat	Texts
ε	Kenites are smiths	Num 24:22; 1 Chron 4:13–14
ζ	Kenites ≈ Amalekites	1 Sam 15:5–6; 27:8–10
η	Kenites ≈ Edomites	Gen 36:11, 14–15; 1 Chron 1:36
θ	Midianites ≈ Amalekites	Gen 36:4; Judg 6:3; 7:12
ι	Midianites ≈ Edomites	Gen 36:4; "Reuel" on Edomite ostraca from Tell el-Kheleifeh
κ	Midianites nomadic	Exod 2:16–19; 3:1; Judg 8:11
λ	Midianites are smiths	Gen 25:3
μ	Caleb ≈ Kenite/Midianite	Num 32:12; Josh 14:6, 14; 1 Chron 2:18–24; 4:13–15
ν	Caleb known for Yahwism	Num 13:30; 14:24; Josh 14:13–14
ο	Rechabites ≈ Kenites/Midianites	1 Chron 2:55
π	Rechabites known for Yahwism	Jer 35:14

To reconstruct a relative *Traditionsgeschichte*, the focus should be on the earliest attestation of each memorat, even if it also appears in later texts. Thus, although 1 Chron 4:13–14 is the work of the Chronicler,[212] or otherwise postexilic,[213] Num 24:22 already employs a wordplay on the Kenite smithing profession, and linguistically this must be an early text.

Metallurgy is one of the earliest associations with the Kenites. The Exodus 18 text analyzed above is either an early independent tradition[214] or E, if there is such a thing.[215] In any case, it is an early memorat. The similar tradition in Judges 1; 4; and 5, Richard Nelson thinks late, but I have argued otherwise elsewhere.[216]

212 Israel Finkelstein, "The Historical Reality behind the Genealogical Lists in 1 Chronicles," *JBL* 131 (2012): 65. Finkelstein himself dates them to the late Hellenistic period, but solely on the faulty premise that they must have at some period reflected actual settlement facts, "rather than being nostalgic and/or utopian"; Finkelstein, "Historical Reality," 73.

213 Steven L. McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles*, Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries (Nashville: Abingdon, 2004), 79.

214 Thomas B. Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 361; Seebass, "Einige Vertrauenswürdige Nachrichten zu Israels Anfängen," 579; Leveen, "Inside Out," 397; Blum, "Der historische Moses und die Frühgeschichte Israels," 52.

215 Joel S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 141; David McLain Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 118; Th. C. Vriezen and A. S. van der Woude, *Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 223.

216 Richard D. Nelson, *Judges: A Critical and Rhetorical Commentary* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017), 28; Robert D. Miller II, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

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The tradition in 1 Samuel 30 that the Kenites are nomadic may be early.[217] The Kenites-Amalekite connection is also old; 1 Samuel 15 is "part of the oldest traditions,"[218] where Saul is not rejected but rebuked. 1 Samuel 27 is pre-Deuteronomistic, the entire chapter lacking Deuteronomistic language.[219] Caleb's story in Numbers 13 is from the so-called Yahwist, but preserving some earlier traditions.[220] Caleb's account in Joshua 14 is the work of the Deuteronomistic Historian,[221] but using earlier material since it seems to be a free-floating fragment only placed here as the least problematic locus.[222] Noting that Judges 6–8 is already presupposed by Isa 9:4, the connection of Midianites and Amalekites in Judges 6 and 7 is pre-DtrH.[223] The Midianite-Kenite connection, the nomadic status of Midianites, the ethnic identity of Caleb as Kenite/Kenizzite, and the story of the Rechabites, are all late Pre-Exilic memorats.[224] The remaining memorats are Post-Exilic.[225]

Here are the memorats in *rough* chronological arrangement:

Siglum	Memorat	Earliest attestation	Comments
ε	Kenites are smiths	Num 24:22	Very early.[226]

217 Antony F. Campbell, *1 Samuel*, Forms of the Old Testament Literature 7 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 291.

218 P. Kyle McCarter, *1 Samuel*; Anchor Bible 8 (Garden City: Doubleday, 2000), 269 n. 1.

219 Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 273; Shimeon Bar-Efrat, *Das erste Buch Samuel: ein narratologisch-philologischer Kommentar*; BWANT 176 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007), s.v. 1 Samuel 30.

220 Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, 373–74; Beltz, *Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament*, 73–75, 81–83; Milgrom, *Numbers*, 491, notes the absence of camels, authentic names, and permission in v 18 to marry Midianites.

221 Hartmut N. Rösel, *Joshua*, Historical Commentary on the Old Testament (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 228; Richard D. Nelson, *Joshua*, Old Testament Library (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 1997), 180.

222 Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, Continental Commentary (London: SPCK, 1984), 326.

223 Walter Groß, *Richter*, Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament 10 (Freiburg: Herder, 2009), 373, 383; Nelson, *Judges*, 140; Sparks, "Israel and the Nomads of Ancient Palestine," 12.

224 Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, 48, 334; Milgrom, *Numbers*, 76, 79; Helmut Utzschneider and Wolfgang Oswald, *Exodus 1–15*, Internationaler exegetischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013), 45, 47, 102; Groß, *Richter*, 386; Nelson, *Judges*, 170; Mark Leuchter, *The Polemics of Exile in Jeremiah 26–45* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 98; Josef Scharbert, *Numeri*. Neue Echter-Bibel 27 (Würzburg: Echter, 2000), 2.126; Fujiko Kohata, *Jahwist und Priesterschrift in Exodus 3–14*, BZAW 166 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 29–30; Philip J. Budd, *Numbers*, Word Biblical Commentary 5 (Waco: Word, 1984), 47.

225 Knauf, "Keniter," 292–93, 297; McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles*, 68, 79, 293; Nelson, *Joshua*, 180; Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 12–12A (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 356–59; Lothar Ruppert, *Genesis*, FzB 3 (Wurzburg: Echter, 2005), 529–30, 548; Claus Westermann, *Genesis* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 250; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 395, 561; Ina Willi-Plein, *Das Buch Genesis, Kapitel 12–50*, NSKAT 1.2 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2011), 232.

226 Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 61; Notarius, *Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry*, 97–110.

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Siglum	Memorat	Earliest attestation	Comments
α	Kenites/Midianites worship Yahweh	Exod 18:1, 9–12	Early independent tradition;[227] or E.[228]
β	Kenites nomadic	1 Sam 30:26–31	Maybe early.[229]
ν	Caleb known for Yahwism	Num 13:30; 14:24;	Num 13 is J, but preserving some early traditions.[230]
δ	Cain=nomadic, metal, music	Gen 4:12, 15, 20–22	J, but using earlier material.[231]
ζ	Kenites ≈ Amalekites	1 Samuel 15:5–6; 27:8–10	Chap. 15 "part of the oldest traditions."[232] Chap. 27 pre-DtrH,[233] perhaps as early as 1 Sam 30:29.[234]
θ	Midianites ≈ Amalekites	Judg 6:3; 7:12	Judges 6–7 mostly pre-DtrH, including these, on which Isa 9:3–4 depends.[235]
γ	Kenites ≈ Midianites	Num 10:29 // Judg 4:11	Num 10 is J, late 7th century,[236] or older.[237] Judg 4 not entirely dependent on Judg 5,[238] although Gross thinks this v post-Dtr.[239]
:κ	Midianites nomadic	Exod 2:16–19; Judg 8:11	Exod 2 is 7th century[240] Judg 8 pre-DtrH[241]

227 Dozeman, *Exodus*, 361; Seebass, "Einige vertrauenswürdige Nachrichten zu Israels Anfängen," 579; Leveen, "Inside Out," 397; Blum, "Der historische Moses und die Fruhgeschichte Israels Auteur," 52; Dozeman later suggested a post-P dating; Jaeyong Jeon, "The Visit of Jethro (Exodus 18): Its Composition and Levitical Reworking," *JBL* 136 (2017): 290, 298.

228 Baden, *Composition of the Pentateuch*, 141; Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 118; Vriezen and van der Woude, *Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Literature*, 223; also Schwartz, Graupner, Propp; see Jeon, "Visit of Jethro (Exodus 18)," 289–90. The similarities of v 11a to late texts like 1 Chr 16:25 are neither unique enough to require a 5th-century dating nor explicable only by such dating.

229 Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 291.

230 Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, 373–74; Beltz, *Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament*, 73–75, 81–83; Milgrom, *Numbers*, 491.

231 Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 326.

232 McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 269 n. 1.

233 Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 273; Bar-Efrat, *Das erste Buch Samuel*, s.v. 1 Samuel 30.

234 Bar-Efrat, *Das erste Buch Samuel*, s.v. 1 Samuel 27, 30.

235 Groß, *Richter*, 373, 383; Nelson, *Judges*, 140.

236 Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, 48, 334.

237 Milgrom, *Numbers*, 76, 79.

238 Nelson, *Judges*, 86, 88.

239 Groß, *Richter*, 263.

240 Utzschneider and Oswald, *Exodus 1–15*, 45, 47, 102.

241 Groß, *Richter*, 386; Nelson, *Judges*, 170.

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Siglum	Memorat	Earliest attestation	Comments
μ	Caleb ≈ Kenite/Midianite	Num 32:12	Num 32:5–15 is D.[242]
π	Rechabites known for Yahwism	Jer 35:14	Not Deuteronomistic.[243]
η	Kenites ≈ Edomites	Gen 36:11, 14–15	P[244] or P^{s}.[245]
ι	Midianites ≈ Edomites	Gen 36:4; "Reuel" on Edomite ostraca from Tell el-Kheleifeh	Genesis 36 quite late, these vv P[246] or P^{s}[247]
λ	Midianites are smiths	Gen 25:3	P,[248] or Post-P addition.[249]
ο	Rechabites ≈ Kenites/Midianites	1 Chron 2:55	Work of the Chronicler.[250]

This means that the Rechabites are probably irrelevant to this discussion. Their connection to the clans of Moses' father-in-law is late. I have not here sorted out Midianites vs. Kenites, to determine if one or the other is the non-Israelite Yahwists' primary identification. This is because, as we have seen, both traditions are equally early. It is Midian as early as Judges 6, Habakkuk 3, and the early strata of Exodus. Kenites appear similarly as early as the Oracles of Balaam, and again in early strata of Exodus. I prefer to see these as two terms for the same people, with Midian slowly dropping out and, ultimately, Chronicles making the Kenites part of Judah.[251]

This Traditions History shows that at least as early as, say, 700, Israelite thinkers had a tradition that there were non-Israelite Yahweh-worshippers in the region just to the north and northeast of the Gulf of Aqaba—pastoralists, smiths, and musicians known as Kenites or Midianites (related to Amalek)—and that Yahweh in name at least entered Israel through their influence. This tradition endured in

242 Scharbert, *Numeri*, 126; Kohata, *Jahwist und Priesterschrift*, 29–30; Budd, *Numbers*, 47.

243 Leuchter, *Polemics of Exile in Jeremiah 26–45*, 98.

244 Ruppert, *Genesis*, 530.

245 Ernst Axel Knauf, "Genesis 36:1–43," in *Jacob: Commentaire à plusieurs voix de Gen 25–36*, ed. J. D. Macchi and Thomas Römer; Monde de la Bible 44 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2001), 293, 297.

246 Ruppert, *Genesis*, 529–30, 530, 548; Westermann, *Genesis*, 250; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 561; Willi-Plein, *Das Buch Genesis, Kapitel 12–50*, 232; Knauf, "Genesis 36:1–43," 292.

247 Ruppert, *Genesis*.

248 Knauf, "Genesis 36:1–43," 292.

249 Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 395.

250 Finkelstein, "Historical Reality," 65.

251 Smith, "Early Relations of Arabia with Syria, and Particularly with Palestine," pt. 4.

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spite of the animosity toward Midian, Amalek, and Edom, and in spite of the way in which Jethro trumped Aaron in the priesthood. Israel preserved the tradition because it was too widely known to ignore.

Yahweh Comes from the South

We will return to this Traditions History, but a series of poetical texts that ascribe to Yahweh "southern origins" should be added to it already here.[252] As Keith Basso writes regarding Western Apache worldviews,

> If we are to understand the claims set forth in these statements [here, statements about Midianite Yahwism], …we must proceed, in other words, by relating our texts to other aspects of [ancient Israelite] thought—in effect, to other texts and other claims—and continue doing this, more and more comprehensively, until finally it is possible to confront the tests directly and expose the major premises on which they rest.[253]

As other scholars have done,[254] I focus on a set of supposedly early texts that all place Yahweh in the south, although more than geography links them together.[255] Scholars have long correlated these texts, theophanies of God where the symbolic matrix is not (or primarily not) God coming on the clouds in rain and thunder but coming from the deserts of the South.[256] I, too, focus on them, in part because, as I will argue, these *are* early texts, but also because so much of God is "northern," as Smith has shown, derived from Northwest Semitic cultures in Syria and focused on locations near to Ugarit like Mount Zaphon.[257] "Southern" allusions are strikingly out of place among these "northern" references to Israel's God.

These passages have been analyzed in a variety of ways. Here I examine them as folklore, and then using the methods of the History of Ideas (or Intellectual History).[258] I have shown elsewhere that most of the Hebrew Bible emerged in

252 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 40.

253 Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 40.

254 Römer, *The Invention of God*; Blum, "Historische Moses und die Frühgeschichte Israels," 56–57.

255 Lars Eric Axelsson, *The Lord Rose up from Seir*; Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series 15 (Lund: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1987), 56.

256 Edouard Lipiński, "Juges 5,4–5 et Psaume 68,8–11," *Biblica* 48 (1967): 188.

257 Robert D. Miller II, *The Dragon, the Mountain, and the Nations: An Old Testament Myth, Its Origins and Afterlives*, Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations 6 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2018).

258 On the convergance of these two fields, see Anna-Leena Siikala; "What Myths Tell about Past Finno-Ugric Modes of Thinking," in *Myth and Mentality: Studies in Folklore and Popular Thought*, ed. Anna-Leena Siikala; Studia Fennica Folkloristica/Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 8 (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2002), 17.

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an oral-and-written culture, where writing was known and regularly used for commerce but where most people preferred and even expected to experience their literature *orally*.[259] We best study the literature of such a society as modern folklore is studied.[260]

What we have in this particular case are four or five closely-related variants or Recurrent Multi-word Sequences (RMS),[261] an inherently conservative genre.[262] They are not exact formulas, and the variation itself proves their folkloric nature.[263] That they are now only preserved in writing does not change that fact.[264] For their analysis, I draw many methodological insights from the "Finnish School" or "Historical-Geographical Method" pioneered by Kaarle Krohn a century ago, as Frog has recommended.[265] Krohn's method involved much that must now be discarded, including his postulated folkloristic rules[266] and his quest for original *Ur*-forms behind variants.[267] Nowadays, scholars look at synchronic variation and place far more emphasis on contex, just as, as mentioned previously, the key to intellectual history is exploring the specific usage of words in specific contexts, especially in language games.[268] Yet Krohn's methods of data collation, coding, and typologies remain productive.[269] In what follows, then, I will write out each variant and give it a siglum, then analyze the variants feature by feature.[270] Simply because these symbols are not otherwise used in biblical studies, I have assigned each variant a siglum using the Glagolitic alphabet, in canonical order of occurrence.

Variant ⰻ, or *Azu*, is Deut 33:2. The text reads,

וַיֹּאמַר יהוה מִסִּינַי בָּא
וְזָרַח מִשֵּׂעִיר לָמוֹ

259 Miller, *Oral Tradition in Ancient Israel*.

260 Gunnell, "Nordic Folk Legends, Folk Traditions and Grave Mounds," 17–18.

261 That is, the mind does not see these as sequences of individual words. Such things are very common and not only as idioms; Christopher Butler, "Formulaic Language," in *The Dynamics of Language Use*, ed. Christopher Butler, Ma de los Ángeles Gómez González, and Susana Ma Doval Suárez; Pragmatics & Beyond, n.s. 140 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2005), 223.

262 Barre Toelken, *The Dynamics of Folklore*, Rev. ed. (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1996), 41.

263 Toelken, *Dynamics*, 37–38, 44, 47.

264 Toelken, *Dynamics*, 47.

265 Frog, "Revisiting the Historical-Geographic Method(s)," 1.

266 E.g., Kaarle Krohn, *Folklore Methodology* (1926); Publications of the American Folklore Society, 21 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 54, 59, 65–67, 71–75, 79–80, 101, 104, 108–18.

267 E.g., Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, 109–10, 119, 162–63; cf. Toelken, *Dynamics*, 47, 413; Anna-Leena Siikala, "Variation in the Incantation and Mythical Thinking," *Journal of Folklore Research* 23 (1986): 187.

268 Bavaj, "Intellectual History," 4; Butler, "Functional Approaches to Language," 7; Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," 49.

269 Frog, "Revisiting the Historical-Geographic Method(s)."

270 Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, 53, 60–61; Toelken, *Dynamics*, 38–39.

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הוֹפִיעַ מֵהַר פָּארָן
וְאָתָה מֵרִבְבֹת קֹדֶשׁ
מִימִינוֹ אֲשֶׁדָּת לָמוֹ

He said, "Yahweh came from Sinai[271]
And dawned[272] on him[273] from Seir
He shone[274] forth from Mount Paran
And went from his peak sanctuary[275]
From his southland mountain slopes for them"

The passage shows signs of much reworking.[276] Most of the translation choices are discussed in the footnotes, but some matters merit mention here. "Went," וְאָתָה, is the verb, as the MT (but none of the versions) has it.[277] McCarthy proposes וְאִתּוֹ, "with him," following Samaritan Pentateuch, Rashi, and *Sifre*, but that requires assuming an enclitic *mem* on the following word.[278] Several codices have a final *alef* on the word instead of *he*.

"Peak Sanctuary" is my attempt at a difficult term. מֵרִבְבֹת is a doublet catchword to Ps 3:7, "myriads," where it is written with plene spelling. The Samaritan Pentateuch, Syriac, and Aquila have the MT reading. I do not read this with the following word as מְרִבַת קָדֵשׁ, the place-name "Meribat Kadesh," as do the NAB, Wellhausen, Dillmann, Beyerlin, Bertholet, and O'Connor, following the Septuagint. That expression occurs only in prose and requires מְרִיבָת with an added *yod*.[279] Nor can רבבת be "myriads," that is, the heavenly host (as RSV, ESV, following the Samaritan

271 Some manuscripts of the Septuagint have "to Sinai," as does the *Mekilta*, or even "to Zion"; Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, eds., *Le Deutéronome*; La Bible d'Alexandrie 5 (Paris: Cerf, 2007), 343.

272 Or "burst forth," following Gen 32:32; David Noel Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," in *The Bible World*, ed. Gary A. Rendsburg et al. (New York: Ktav, 1980), 25–46.

273 i. e., "his people." LXX, *Targum Onqelos*, the Syriac, and the Vulgate have "for us," harmonizing with v 4; *lamo* is a poetic form; Carmel McCarthy, ed., *Deuteronomy*, Biblia Hebraica Quinta 5 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 155. Jack Lundbom, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 921 prefers "for them," reading an ethical lamed.

274 Cf. Job 10:3, 22.

275 Following Aquila and the Samaritan Pentateuch; cf. Vulgate, Syriac, and Targum; Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 40; Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 922.

276 I am deeply grateful to Hans Ulrich Steymans for an extended discussion of this passage over an Austrian dinner on Capitol Hill, although we still disagree over whether Asherah is here or not.

277 Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 38.

278 Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 922.

279 Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 39; Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 922.

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Pentateuch and Ugaritic [KTU 1.4 i.28, 43][280]). That would produce, "He went from his holy myriads," but God would not "depart from" the heavenly host.[281] The Septuagint, Vulgate, Targums, and 4QpaleoDeut solve this by not translating the *mem* or "from";[282] McCarthy solves it by translating the *mem* as "some of."[283] Natanel ben Yeshaya's *Nur al-Zalam* (1329) does translate as "He departed from his holy myriads," by understanding the "he" to be the messiah. מֵרִבְבֹת must refer to a physical feature, a location in parallel with the other locations.[284] Given the etymology of the word, I suggest "peak."

For אֲשֻׁדֹּת, I read אֲשֵׁדֹת with the Ketiv and translate "mountain slopes."[285] The Qere is אֵשׁ־דָּת, which is in Freedman's words, "a counsel of despair,"[286] supported by some of the versions and meaning "fiery law." But it requires the Persian loan-word דָּת, found in Ezra, Esther, and Daniel (*KB* 234), and creates a stich with the wrong number of lexemes, where three are required.[287] Contra O'Connor and Tournay, you cannot get the Septuagint αγγελοι from the Ketib אֲשֻׁדֹּת.[288] McCarthy proposes אשׁרת, with a *resh*, following Nyberg and Weinfeld, therefore having Yahweh accompanied by Asherah.[289] This is supported by the fact that קָדֵשׁ is an epithet of Asherah regularly.[290] Thus, something like, "At his right hand: Asherah, for us." Although *HALOT* says the word אֲשֵׁדֹת means "angel" or "strong one," it here must be translated as mountain slopes, exactly the way it is used with Mount Pisgah in the previous chapter, Deuteronomy 32 (cf. Deut 3:17).[291] It is the objective

280 Gregorio del Olmo Lete, Joaquín Sanmartín, and Wilfred G. E. Watson, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, 3rd ed., Handbook of Oriental Studies. Near and Middle East; Handbuch der Orientalistik 112 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 2.730.

281 Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 40.

282 The Vulgate version of the line appears in several Christian liturgical prayers and antiphons with Christ as the subject, the earliest being an 8th-century Visigothic blessing (Verona Biblioteca Capitolare MS 89) for the feast of St. Cecilia; Edmond E. Moller, *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*; CCSL 162 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), vol. 1, op. 391; for other examples, see Carolus Marbach, *Carmina Scripturarum, scilicet antiphonas et responsoria ex Sacro Scripturae fonte in libros liturgicos Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae derivata* (Strassburg: Le Roux, 1907), 370, line 35; 535, 9.

283 Carmel McCarthy, "Moving in from the Margins: Issues of Text and Context in Deuteronomy," in *Congress Volume: Basel, 2001*, ed. André Lemaire; VTSup 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 126.

284 Axelsson, *Lord Rose up from Seir*, 49.

285 Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 30.

286 Freedman, 39.

287 Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 922.

288 Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 41.

289 McCarthy, "Moving in from the Margins: Issues of Text and Context in Deuteronomy," 129–30, 132.

290 Olmo Lete, Sanmartín, and Watson, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, 2:695.

291 Gesenius suggests mountain roots (cf. Deut 4:49; Josh 10:40; 12:8) and Elazar of Worms (d. 1238), *Perush ha-Rokeach,* "waterfalls."

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of Yahweh in this verse – *min* cannot designate the destination.[292] אֲשֶׁדֹּת מִימִינוֹ is in parallel with מֵרְבְבוֹת קֹדֶשׁ.[293] One might argue, of course, that מִימִינוֹ is in parallel with וְאָתָה, and therefore neither can be verbs: both lines begin with prepositions. That would lend some support to those who wish to translate the next to last line as, "With him, the holy one, from myriads"— a translation I still do not support.

This passage is a poem of five trilexic stichs.[294] The stichs list five locations from which God has come: Sinai, Seir, Paran, "peak sanctuary," and the mountain slopes. These locations are in parallel, but not identical, as we shall see. I will also argue that only in this variant is Sinai one of the places from which God comes. Since Paran is also in Habakkuk 3, Teman in Habakkuk 3 and Zechariah 9, and Seir in Judges 5, Sinai may have been added here at an early point to make the poem more "orthodox." After all, Sinai breaks the "two-and-two" pattern. Thus, v 2b could have been added, perhaps by the Deuteronomistic Historian, who also added Moses in v 4. This would then leave a perfect pair of parallels.

This is one of two different Seirs in the Hebrew Bible; there is another Seir in Judah (Josh 15:10), to be identified with Saris or Sores, northeast of Kesalon.[295] The Amarna letter EA 288, line 26, claims that the Late Bronze age Jerusalem king Abdihepa ruled "From Seir Land to Ginti-Kirmil."[296] This phrase is a merism of "from southeast to northwest," and so Ginti-Kirmil must be Gath-Carmel or Gath of the Carmel, known from a Persian-period inscription from Shiqmona and identical with Pliny's Getta (*Hist. Nat.* 5.17.75).[297] Seir also appears in three Rameses II texts—the Jebel Shaluf Stele, the Tanis Obelisk, and a list from Amara West—as well as Papyrus Harris 1 76.9 from the time of Rameses III, which all require a location in southwestern Jordan or at the southern end of modern Israel.[298] Astour argues that Seir should not be read in the Amara West list because there is an extra *r.* But as Aḥituv and Redford point out, such errors occur throughout this text (lines 67, 97, 103, etc.),[299] and Astour's proposed *šʿr3r3[]* introduces an uncertain

292 Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 39.

293 Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 922.

294 McCarthy, "Moving in from the Margins: Issues of Text and Context in Deuteronomy," 125.

295 Frants Bühl, *Geographie des alten Palastina*, Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften 2.4 (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896), 91.

296 Identification with biblical Seir was first made by Heinrich Zimmern, "Die Keilschriftbriefe aus Jerusalem," *ZA* 6 (1891): 257.

297 Leuenberger, *Gott in Bewegung*, 17 n. 43; Zecharia Kallai, "EA 288 and Biblical Historiography," *Revue Biblique* 108 (2001): 5, 7–8; contra Aharoni who thought it was Philistine Gath and Knauf who thought it was Carmel of Judah; Manfred Görg, "Zur Identität der 'Seir-Länder,'" *Biblische Notizen* 46 (1989): 7.

298 Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, 169; Lemaire, *The Birth of Monotheism*, 21–23.

299 Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, CHANE 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 92.

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š.[300] In Ashurbanipal's Annals recorded on Rassam Prism A (*COS* 4.41), in Section 10, the 9th *Gerru*, the first half reporting his campaign to Arabia, Seir is listed immediately after Edom and Moab and before *Hargê* and Zobah (7.107–124).

Seir can be synonymous with Edom, as it is in Ezekiel 35.[301] While Gen 36:8–9 equates Edom with Seir, v 20 identifies Seir as a Horite who lived earlier than the time of Esau.[302] Gen 14:6 and Josh 15:1–4, however, consider Seir to include that portion of Edom that is west of the Arabah, and this is the general usage, although Nathan MacDonald has unpacked variations.[303] Seir can also refer to a people who live in this region, although this seems to be unique to Priestly-associated writings (Gen 36:20–21; 2 Chron 25:11, 14).[304] The phrase "Mount Seir" occurs in Gen 36:8–9; Deut 1:2; and Josh 24:4, and refers to a range *in* Seir.[305] The name Seir may derive from "hairy." This could mean "forested" (Gen 27:11, 23; Lev 13:3; Isa 7:2; Ezek 16:7; Zech 13:4; Cant 4:4; Job 4:15),[306] but should not determine where it is to be located, since it could equally refer to Esau's personal appearance.[307]

Mazar, Aḥituv, and Freedman consider Mount Paran to be another name for Mount Sinai.[308] However, this would either place Seir in the Sinai Peninsula, which is impossible, or locate Mount Sinai in southwest Jordan at the unlikely Jebel el-Hilal.[309] Mount Sinai must be in the Sinai Peninsula where it was traditionally located before Alois Musil and other proposed northwest Arabia.[310] This was argued extensively first by Pedersen and by many since.[311] Oblath disagrees, but

300 Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, 109 n. 491.

301 Horace D. Hummel, *Ezekiel 21–48*, Concordia Commentary (Saint Louis: Concordia, 2007), 1017, 1019.

302 Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 564–65.

303 Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 181; Kallai, "EA 288 and Biblical Historiography," 13; Oblath, *Exodus Itinerary Sites*, 131; Blenkinsopp, "Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," 136–37; Nathan MacDonald, "Edom and Seir in the Narratives and Itineraries of Numbers 20–21 and Deuteronomy 1–3," in *Deuteronomium – Tora für eine neue Generation*, ed. G. Fischer, D. Markl, and F. Paganini, BZAR 17 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 88–92.

304 Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 28; Knauf, "Genesis 36:1–43," 292–97.

305 Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 920.

306 Clines, 440. Paul de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im aramäischen, arabischen, und hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (1891; repr. Osnabruck, Germany: Otto Zeller, 1972), 92.

307 Ruppert, *Genesis*, 70–71.

308 Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 39; Stefan Timm, "'Gott kommt von Teman, Der Heilige vom Berg Paran' (Habakkuk 3:3)—und archaologisch Neues aus dem äussersten Suden (Tel el-Meharret)," *Old Testament Essays* 9 (1996): 320–24, places it at Jebel Sertal in the Wadi Feiran, near traditional Mount Sinai.

309 Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 920.

310 Exodus 3 does not require an Arabian location since it does not say Moses is at that time in Midian at all. Exod 18:27 and Num 10:29–30 require Mt. Sinai being *outside* of Midian.

311 Johannes Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926; Repr. 1954), 502.

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he also makes the Yam Suf the Gulf of Aqaba, with which few scholars would agree.[312] Which mountain in the peninsula is immaterial here, but the evidence that it must be one of the mountains in the peninsula was thoroughly presented in Menashe Har-El's *Sinai Journeys*.[313] Arguments that mountains of the peninsula are disqualified because they are not volcanic mistake the literary, genre-bound nature of the theophany in Exodus for factual account.

It is better to consider these regions as distinct, albeit in the same general direction from the land of Israel. Paran—the only term here with "mountain" attached—overlaps with Edom and abuts the Wilderness of Zin between Kadesh and Edom (1 Kgs 11:17–18).[314] It is to Paran that Hagar and Ishmael flee in Gen 21:21, where, according to the book of *Jubilees,* they were later joined by the sons of Keturah (20:12–13). Knauf's philological equation of Paran with Wadi Feiran within the Sinai Peninsula is linguistically impossible.[315]

Moreover, this passage is not about Mount Sinai at all, or at least not about the revelation of the Law at Sinai. As we shall see, it is the only variant that mentions Sinai; the rest are clear in referring to Israel's south*east,* not southwest.[316] In any case, Yahweh does not come *from* Sinai in Exodus, he comes *to* Sinai, to deliver the Law (Exod 19:18–20).[317]

Although the age of a variant is not simply the date of the text that contains it,[318] and although late sources can preserve more original versions,[319] we shall want to give approximate dates to these variants.[320] I will return to the non-linguistic dating of these variants by Henrik Pfeiffer later, but I do believe that biblical Hebrew can be dated linguistically.[321] The serious challenge to this view has come

312 Oblath, *The Exodus Itinerary Sites*, 199. He also ignores the crucial John R. Huddlestun, "Red Sea," *ABD*; and subsequent Robert D. Miller II, "Crossing the Sea: A Reassessment of the Exodus," *ZABR* 13 (2007): 187–93.

313 Menashe Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys: The Route of the Exodus*, rev. ed. (Los Angeles: Ridgefield, 1983), 232–33, 357, 373, 418; see also Graham I. Davies, "The Significance of Deuteronomy 1. 2 for the Location of Mount Horeb," *PEQ* 111 (1979): 88–89, 97–101.

314 Oblath, *The Exodus Itinerary Sites*, 140, 142; Gerhards, "Über die Herkunft der Frau des Mose," 166; Römer, *The Invention of God*, 45.

315 Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity*, 233 n. 98.

316 McCarter, "Origins of Israelite Religion," 125.

317 S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, ICC (New York: T&T Clark, 1916), 390; George Foot Moore, *Judges*, ICC (New York: T&T Clark, 1895), 139; I do not, however, agree with Moore that the passages refer to the Conquest; Moore, 140.

318 Krohn, *Folklore Methodology (1926)*, 102.

319 Daniel Sävborg, "Scandinavian Folk Legends and Icelandic Sagas," in *New Focus on Retrospective Methods: Resuming Methodological Discussions: Case Studies from Northern Europe*, ed. Eldar Heide and Karen Bek-Pedersen, Folklore Fellows' Communications 307 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2014), 86.

320 Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, 159.

321 Shmuel Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*, Carta Handbook (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 3; Pat-El and Wilson-Wright, "Features of Archaic Biblical Hebrew and the Linguistic Dating Debate," 389.

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from Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd (2008), and Young's student Robyn Vern (2011), who argue that the distinctions by which Hebrew texts are typically dated may simply be matters of style or the "archaizing" work of late authors intentionally trying to appear antiquarian. They do not define "style," and it would seem that such a thing would not affect an entire syntax.[322] Furthermore, much of their argument is based on examples where we do not know what the words mean.[323]

When we "date Hebrew," we are not dating texts but the language represented by texts.[324] For this, we use "typical diachronic changes in human language,"[325] the presence of foreign loanwords,[326] and the comparative data of datable inscriptions.[327] Archaizing, by contrast, is never consistent, as the Damascus Document illustrates.[328] To think such texts as Judges 5 are late archaizing is to imagine Post-Exilic Judean authors who understood the history of the Hebrew language in all its aspects better than medieval rabbis or indeed than all biblical scholars prior to Cross and Freedman. Moreover, some things are unlikely to be ever imitated.[329] Archaizing, for example, gets the 3rd person masculine single suffix *-ô* wrong (it does not know *-ōh*). It removes *matres lectionis* but only for vowels *historically* long.

For a number of reasons, Deuteronomy 33 is an early text (e.g., the interrogative *min* and adverbial enclitic *mem*, both in v 11), although evidence is relatively scant in comparison with the other variants I will consider.[330] While there are no

322 John A. Cook, "Detecting Development in Biblical Hebrew Using Diachronic Typology," in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Ziony Zevit and C. L. Miller (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 83–95.

323 Ronald Hendel and Jan Joosten, *How Old is the Hebrew Bible?* Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 139–41.

324 Robert D. Holmstedt, "Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew," in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Ziony Zevit and C. L. Miller (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012); Cook, "Detecting Development in Biblical Hebrew Using Diachronic Typology."

325 Cook, "Detecting Development in Biblical Hebrew Using Diachronic Typology."

326 Holmstedt, "Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew."

327 André Lemaire, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Millennium B. C.E. in the Light of Epigraphic Evidence," in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Steven Ellis Fassberg and Avi Hurvitz, Publication of the Institute for Advanced Studies, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2006), 177–96; Hendel and Joosten, *How Old*, 22.

328 Jan Joosten, "Diachronic Linguistics and the Date of the Pentateuch," in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, ed. Jan C. Gertz et al., FAT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 341–42.

329 Cook, "Detecting Development in Biblical Hebrew Using Diachronic Typology."

330 Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 56–57; Frank Crüsemann, *The Torah: Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 32–35; Ziony Zevit, *What Really Happened in the Garden of Eden?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 38; Freedman, "The Poetic Structure of the Framework of Deuteronomy 33," 26–27; also Cross, Tigay, Tournay.

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late features in vv 2–5,[331] the way the *yaqtul* form functions in this chapter when not in sentence-initial position—complementary syntactical distribution with clause-initial volative forms—is a late phenomenon.[332]

Variant 𐤔 or *Buky* is Judg 5:4–5.

4 יְהוָה בְּצֵאתְךָ מִשֵּׂעִיר
בְּצַעְדְּךָ מִשְׂדֵה אֱדוֹם
אֶרֶץ רָעָשָׁה גַּם־שָׁמַיִם נָטָפוּ
גַּם־עָבִים נָטְפוּ מָיִם׃
5 הָרִים נָזֹלּוּ
מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה זֶה סִינַי
מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

4 Yahweh, when you went out from Seir[333]
When you marched from the territory[334] of Edom
The earth shook, and also the heavens, they dripped[335]
The clouds dripped water
5 The mountains trembled[336]
Before Yahweh, the One of Sinai[337]
Before Yahweh, the God of Israel[338]

As I have argued elsewhere, the Song of Deborah "presents a complex interplay of various poems, perhaps not originally related to each other,"[339] although the narrative association with Kenites is notable. At some point in the song's development, a point prior to the final form of the Song, these verses belong together as one of the variants of the RMS. At an earlier point, however, vv 4 and 5 do not belong together. They display two different poetic schemes. Verse 4 consists of trilexic stichs, the same as vv 26 and 29, while v 5 has tetralexic stichs like vv 23, 26b, and 28.[340] Those scholars of the last century who removed v 5b as a gloss were correct about the fact that it does not belong, but incorrect in that it does not belong only at one level; in later forms of the Song, it does belong. Its removal does

331 Notarius, *The Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry*, 250.

332 Notarius, 249.

333 Two codices read שָׂדֶה, "field," instead of Seir; Christian Schnurrer, *Dissertatio Inauguralis Philologica in Canticum Deborae* (Tübingen: Fuesiana, 1775), 7.

334 *Tg. Jon. tĕḥûmê.*

335 Vogt, Lipinski, and Cheney state this is a gloss on נוט, from the root נטט in v 4b as נטפ.

336 MT: "streamed."

337 Omitted in the early 20th century as a gloss; Alexander Globe, "Text and Literary Structure of Judges 5.4–5," *Biblica* 55 (1974): 169; cf. Edward Lipiński, *Le poème royal du Psaume LXXXIX 1–5.20–38*, Cahiers de la Revue biblique 6 (Paris: Gabalda, 1967), 100.

338 Revocalized with LXX; Globe, "Text and Literary Structure of Judges 5.4–5," 174.

339 Robert D. Miller II, *Oral Tradition in Ancient Israel* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Press, 2011), 90.

340 Globe, "Text and Literary Structure of Judges 5.4–5," 169.

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mean, however, that 5b cannot be used to interpret the variant, as Leuenberger does when seeing the variant as referring to the revelation at Sinai.[341] Even with 5b included, the reference is not to a location, as in v 4, but to God's identity, the "One of Sinai," a divine appellation like the Nabatean Du-Shara, "One of the Mountain."[342] Thus, the 18th and 19th-century interpreters were correct who saw this passage as having nothing to do with Mount Sinai.[343]

This very name, זֶה סִינַי, is one of several clues to the early dating of the Song of Deborah, noted by Lindars, Neef, Niemann, Knauf, Rendsburg, Echols, de Moor, and de Hoop.[344] Although Frolov believes it is simply a demonstrative pronoun,[345] it is a nominalizing particle, inflected for case.[346] The list of other archaic features in the Song is extensive. Verse 7 shows the relative particle שְׁ and the old 2nd person feminine singular ending,[347] although Frolov sees this as an Aramaism.[348] Verse 8 uses the short, prefixing *yaqtul* form without *waw* for the past perfective aspect,[349] which Notarius says here "unambiguously indicates the archaic type of verbal tense system."[350] In verses 17 and 30, the long, prefixing *yaqtulu* is used for

341 Leuenberger, *Gott in Bewegung*, 25–27.

342 Lipiński, "Juges 5,4–5 et Psaume 68,8–11," 198; also Sabaean Du-Samawi and Du-Anyat and Minaean Du-ʿAwdan; Albert Jamme, *Le panthéon Sud-Arabe préislamique*, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis Sylloge Excerptorum e Dissertationibus 15.2 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1947), 131–33, 139. Alternatively, Buber argued the Song ascribed the title "a Sinai" to Mount Tabor; Martin Buber, *On the Bible* (New York: Schocken, 1968), 48.

343 Schnurrer, *Dissertatio Inauguralis Philologica in Canticum Deborae*, 8; Moore, *Judges*, 140.

344 Ulrike Bechmann, *Das Deboralied zwischen Geschichte und Fiktion: Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu Richter 5*; Dissertationen 33 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1989), 133; Tyler Mayfield, "The Accounts of Deborah (Judges 4—5) in Recent Research," *Currents in Biblical Research* 7 (2009): 324; Hendel and Joosten, *How Old*, 103–104.

345 Serge Frolov, "How Old Is the Song of Deborah?" *JSOT* 36 (2011): 166; he thinks the Song depends on Proverbs 7; Frolov, 174. Also dating it late are Levin and Diebner; Mayfield, "The Accounts of Deborah (Judges 4—5) in Recent Research," 325.

346 Pat-El and Wilson-Wright, "Features of Archaic Biblical Hebrew and the Linguistic Dating Debate," 401–2; Bloch, "Syntactic Archaism in Biblical Hebrew"; Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 46, 57.

347 Joshua Blau, *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew*, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 2 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 8; Aaron D. Hornkohl, "The Standard Diachronic Approach to Biblical Hebrew: Some Recent Counterarguments" (Paper presented at the 16th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 2013), 9; Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 57.

348 Frolov, "How Old Is the Song of Deborah?," 167.

349 Bloch, "Syntactic Archaism in Biblical Hebrew"; Agustinus Gianto, "Archaic Biblical Hebrew," in *A Handbook of Biblical Hebrew*, ed. W. Randall Garr and Steven Ellis Fassberg, vol. 2 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 10 n.4; Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 58; Mark S. Smith, "Why Was 'Old Poetry' Used in Hebrew Narrative? Historical and Cultural Considerations about Judges 5," in *Puzzling Out the Past*, ed. Marilyn J. Lundberg, Steven Fine, and Wayne T. Pitard (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 202, does not accept this criterion, following O'Connor.

350 Notarius, *Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry*, 141.

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the present progressive.[351] Verse 25 has the tetralexic distich form used in *KAI* 59 and Ugaritic poetry (e.g., KTU 1.17.ii 27–29; 1.17. v 4–5, 13–15, 33–35), as well as several old lexemes: חֵמְאָה, and סַפֶּל, a word known from Ugarit, Egyptian, and Akkadian texts (Akk *saplu*; e.g., EA 22) used in preference to נ(א)וד in 4:19.[352] The energic nun indicative with imperfect aspect occurs in vv 26 and 29 (cf. its absence in 4:21).[353] בַּאֲשֶׁר is used in a locative sense in v 27.[354] The archaic dual appears in v 30.[355] In the Song, there is no fixed syntactical position for volitive modal forms.[356] Some scholars have seen enclitic *mems* in vv 1 and 11: שָׁרְשָׁם, traditionally translated "their root," as a Piel with enclitic *mem* and reading the initial *mem* in v 11 as an enclitic *mem* accidentally separated from its verb, which makes the line much clearer.

Frolov counters all this by pointing to late lexical items: רמה, found in Chronicles and Nehemiah, בהתנדב, found in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, עמלים, found in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job, רקמה, found in Ezekiel and Chronicles, and צבע, found only in post-biblical Hebrew.[357] Of course, no one is arguing that the text was not touched by later hands, but a late author cannot do archaism consistently,[358] and late elements in a text do not mean it was composed late.[359]

Variant *Vede,* or 𝔙 is Hab 3:3a:

אֱלוֹהַּ מִתֵּימָן יָבוֹא וְקָדוֹשׁ מֵהַר־פָּארָן סֶלָה

God (Eloah) came from Teman
The Holy One from Mount Paran.

Some Dead Sea Scrolls lack chapter 3 entirely.[360] "Eloah" for God is a term common only in Job, which has its own associations with Teman (Job 4:1).[361]

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351 Pat-El and Wilson-Wright, "Features of Archaic Biblical Hebrew and the Linguistic Dating Debate," 400; Bloch, "Syntactic Archaism in Biblical Hebrew"; Notarius, *Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry*, 149–50; Hendel and Joosten, *How Old*, 103.

352 Smith, "Why Was 'Old Poetry' Used in Hebrew Narrative?" 211.

353 Notarius, *Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry*, 150; Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 57; Smith, "Why Was 'Old Poetry' Used in Hebrew Narrative?" 202–3; Frank Moore Cross and David Noel Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, rev. ed., The Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 19, 40; Frolov, "How Old Is the Song of Deborah?," 168, however, notes its presence in Obad 13b and Job 39:23. On the reliability of Cross and Freedman to this day, see Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, 3.

354 Smith, "Why Was 'Old Poetry' Used in Hebrew Narrative?" 211.

355 Hendel and Joosten, *How Old*, 102.

356 Notarius, *Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry*, 150.

357 Frolov, "How Old Is the Song of Deborah?," 171–72.

358 Hornkohl, "Standard Diachronic Approach to Biblical Hebrew."

359 Gunnell, "Nordic Folk Legends, Folk Traditions and Grave Mounds," 20–21.

360 Axelsson, *The Lord Rose up from Seir*, 53.

361 J. J. M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, OTL (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 1991), 151.

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In this brief excerpt, new terms for the South are introduced. Teman may, in fact, simply mean "south," which is the Latin at this place. *Teman* in Syriac, for instance, is never a proper noun. The Septuagint interprets Teman here as a geographic name, but the Barberini Greek has "south," as does Theodotian.[362] Teman often does mean simply "south" (Exod 26:18, 35; 27:9; 36:23; Num 2:10; 10:6; Deut 3:27; Josh 12:3; 15:1; Isa 43:6; Ps 78:26; Peshitta Job 37:17).

If Teman is read as a proper geographic name, it is used in different ways in the Hebrew Bible. Ezek 25:13 uses the expression "Teman to Dedan" as a merism for the whole of Edom,[363] which suggests a Cisjordanian location consistent with Habakkuk 3.[364] In Genesis and Ezekiel, it is a place in Edom, either Cisjordanian (Ezek 20:46) or Transjordanian (Gen 36:34).[365] It appears to be synonymous with Edom elsewhere (Amos 1:11–12; Obad 8–9; Jer 49:7, 20).[366] It should not be considered a specific city, as it was by Glueck, Sellin, and Paul.[367] Teman also appears as a personal name, the grandson of Esau and half-brother of Amalek, in Gen 36:11–12.

In place of Paran, the Septuagint has κατασκιου δασεοσ, "dark and hairy," as if it were reading "Seir" in the Hebrew and translating it literally.[368] Hiebert believes that Edom is only in Transjordan and that this text (and P in Num 12:16; 13:3, 26) wrongly envisioned Paran in Cisjordan, while, in fact, it is in Transjordan. His reason for this, however, is the lack of Late Bronze Age sites in the southern Negev and an accompanying assumption of historicity.[369]

The following verses in Habakkuk 3 are important, as well. Hab 3:4, "His brightness was like the light; rays flashed from his hand; there he veiled his

362 Jamie A. Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets, a Cross-Analysis of Theophanic Texts in Micah, Habakkuk, and Zechariah" (Diss. The Catholic University of America, 2013), 129, http://hdl.handle.net/1961/14387. Now published as Jamie A. Banister, *The God of Thunder and War in Micah, Habbakuk, and Zechariah*, Gorgias Biblical Studies 68 (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2018).

363 Hummel, *Ezekiel 21–48*, 785; Paul M. Joyce, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 173.

364 Frants Bühl, *Geschichte der Edomiter* (Leipzig: Alexander Edelmann, 1893), 30.

365 Knauf, "Keniter"; Blenkinsopp, "Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," 138; Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, 85.

366 Bühl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 30; Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, 85; Johan Renkema, *Obadiah*, Historical Commentary on the Old Testament (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 152.

367 John Barton, *Joel-Obadiah*, Old Testament Library (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 144; Ernst Sellin, *Zwölf Propheten*, KAT (Leipzig: Deichertsche, 1922), 168; Paul, *Amos*, 63; Renkema, *Obadiah*, 154; Hans-Peter Müller, "Kolloquialsprache und Volksreligion in den Inschriften von Kuntillet ʿAgrud und Hirbet el-Qom (1992)," in *Wege zur Hebräischen Bibel: Denken-Sprache-Kultur*, ed. Armin Lange and Diethard Römheld, FRLANT 228 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 163.

368 Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, 133; Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets," 129.

369 Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, 86–87.

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power," contains the "shining" motif found in Variant 𐤇 (Deut 33:2).[370] Verse 6b has the "mountain shaking" motif of Variants 𐤔 and 𐤐. Then v 7 has the reference to Midian considered above, "I saw the tents of Cushan tremble, the curtains of Midian." The trembling of the tents (and it cannot be the Midianite curtains trembling because of the gender of the nouns[371]) corresponds to the shaking mountains in 6b.[372]

The redaction of these verses is not clear, and it is ambiguous whether verse 3 originally stood alone as a variant, as I have treated it here, or belongs from its origin with vv 3–7, as argued by Andersen, Hiebert, and Shupak (see above).[373] Either 3 or 3–7 has been secondarily incorporated into the hymn of vv 2b-15.[374] That larger hymn is heavily imbued with Northwest Semitic *Chaoskampf* language,[375] although with the significant modification that a hope for justice and salvation has replaced hope for "victory" or fertility.[376]

Hiebert and Roberts date this variant early,[377] although there is scant reason to do so: the 3rd masculine singular form in v 4,[378] the word יִרְגְּזוּן in v 7, and the name Eloah.[379] Even these could be false archaisms, since standard spelling predominates, including the plene *ō* within words, a late 7th-century innovation.[380]

Psalm 68:8–9 is variant *glagoli* (𐤐):

8 אֱלֹהִים בְּצֵאתְךָ לִפְנֵי עַמֶּךָ בְּצַעְדְּךָ בִישִׁימוֹן סֶלָה׃
9 אֶרֶץ רָעָשָׁה אַף־שָׁמַיִם נָטְפוּ מִפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים זֶה סִינַי מִפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

370 Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets," 172. The motif of God "shining" has an independent distribution and history throughout the Hebrew Bible, dovetailing with other solar imagery that is beyond the scope of this essay. I am grateful to Dr. Funlola Olojede for pointing this out to me.

371 Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, 137; Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets," 137–39.

372 Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets," 186.

373 Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 283; Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, 84; Shupak, "God from Teman and the Egyptian Sun God," 108.

374 Aḥituv, "Sinai Theophany in the Psalm of Habakkuk," 225–26; Shupak, "God from Teman and the Egyptian Sun God," 97; Christopher R. Lortie, *Mighty to Save: A Literary and Historical Study of Habakkuk 3 and Its Traditions*, Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im alten Testament 99 (Sankt Ottilien: EOS, 2016), 74, 92.

375 Lipiński, "Juges 5,4–5 et Psaume 68,8–11," 187; Shupak, "God from Teman and the Egyptian Sun God," 97; Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets," 255; Lortie, *Mighty to Save*, 143.

376 I am grateful to my student Erik Trinka for this insight. Shupak, "God from Teman and the Egyptian Sun God," 102, 105–6, 114–15, suggests unsupportable links to Amarna religion, by recourse to 19th-century BC Middle Kingdom texts.

377 Hiebert, *God of My Victory*, 124; Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, 148.

378 Hornkohl, "Standard Diachronic Approach to Biblical Hebrew," 9; Blau, *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew*, 8; Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 57. This is not a vestige of the intervocalic *h*.

379 Andersen, *Habakkuk*, 285.

380 Andersen, 285.

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God, when you went forth before your people,
When you marched through the desert, (Selah)
The earth quaked, the heavens poured
Before God, the One of Sinai
Before God, the God of Israel.

This variant is close to Variant 𐤌, Judges 5, except the proper geographical names are absent. The "One of Sinai" should again be understood as a fossilized form, akin to Dushara, and not an allusion to the revelation of the Law in Exodus.[381] The name Yahweh is missing in this variant because of its context in the so-called Elohistic Psalter (Psalms 42–83), whose editors largely replaced the tetragrammaton throughout with Elohim: the double Elohim in verse 9 makes no sense unless the original reading was Yahweh.[382]

Scholars since Albright have considered Psalm 68 a composite text, but Fokkelman and others have shown that the inclusio between v 5 and vv 33–34 indicates at least that section to be of one piece.[383] Knohl points out that Northwest Semitic *Chaoskampf* mythemes are confined to this vv 5–34 unit.[384] There are also several roots and words in vv 4–9 that recur in vv 16–21.[385]

This unity requires discussing the meaning of Sinai in v 17. Here, too, however, the Exodus cannot be understood. The MT is the meaningless "The Lord is among them Sinai in the holy," which might be derived from a (mis-)reading of Variant 𐤇 in Deuteronomy 33, if it is supposed to mean, "The Lord is among them at Sinai in holiness." The probable reading of the Hebrew is "the Lord is among them; Sinai is now in the sanctuary," with "Sinai" here a shortened form of *Ze-Sinai* in v 8. "The Lord came from Sinai into his holy place" requires re-dividing the consonants into different words, restoring one letter, and changing the pointing.[386] There is, therefore, still no allusion to the Exodus here. The motion of the people, unique to this variant, could easily refer to movement into battle, with God at their head, just as the line "Hadad went before me" in the Tel Dan Stele (line 5).

381 Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. T. 4: Psaumes*, OBO 50.4 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2005), 432–35; Israel Knohl, "Psalm 68: Structure, Composition, and Geography," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 12 (2012): 15.

382 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 41.

383 Jan P. Fokkelmann, "The Structure of Psalm LXVIII," in *In Quest of the Past: Studies on Israelite Religion, Literature and Prophetism*, ed. Adam Simon van der Woude, OTS 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1990): 75; Israel Knohl, "Psalm 68: Structure, Composition, and Geography," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 12 (2012): 3; contra Anne Moore, *Moving beyond Symbol and Myth Understanding the Kingship of God of the Hebrew Bible through Metaphor* (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 224–25.

384 Knohl, "Psalm 68: Structure, Composition, and Geography," 4.

385 Girard, *Les Psaumes redécouverts*, 2.214.

386 David L. Frost, John Emerton, and Andrew A. Macintosh, trans., *The Cambridge Liturgical Psalter* (Cambridge: Aquila, 2003), 275.

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The archaic nominalizing reflex *zû* is found in both verses 9 and 28 of this psalm, in both places correctly inflected for case.[387] The 3rd person feminine plural relic appears in v 14.[388] Verses 7 and 11 include archaic lexemes.[389] And verse 34 uses a vocative *lamed*.[390]

Connections are obviously strong between this variant and *Buky* (Judges 5). The first two lines of each show the same verbal forms with the same preposition fronted and the same second person masculine suffix.[391]

Zechariah 9 is not ordinarily considered alongside these other passages, although Wellhausen rightly linked it to them.[392] Here Zech 9:14 is Variant *dobro* (𐌃):

וַיהוָה עֲלֵיהֶם יֵרָאֶה
וְיָצָא כַבָּרָק חִצּוֹ
וַאדֹנָי יְהוִה בַּשּׁוֹפָר יִתְקָע
וְהָלַךְ בְּסַעֲרוֹת תֵּימָן׃

And Yahweh will appear over them
And his arrow will go out as lightning
The Lord Yahweh will sound the shofar
And he will come in the storms of Teman.

I prefer to leave the final word as Teman, with the Modern English Version alone among contemporary translations, but only to show the parallels with the other variants—the word may well mean simply "south," as it may in Habakkuk 3, as well. The "arrow(s)," which occur in v 15 also, draw on Northwest Semitic *Chaoskampf* mythemes such as those used in Habakkuk.[393] Unlike the other variants, this one lacks the earth or mountains shaking, as well as the sense of terror of the other variants.[394] With this variant, we are well into the Post-Exilic period.

Henrik Pfeiffer, following in the footsteps of his *Doktorvater* Matthias Köckert, argues at length for a late date for all these variants.[395] For Pfeiffer, they reflect 5th-century debates, later than Third Isaiah, in which a destroyed Jerusalem

387 Pat-El and Wilson-Wright, "Features of Archaic Biblical Hebrew and the Linguistic Dating Debate," 401–2; Bloch, "Syntactic Archaism in Biblical Hebrew"; Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 46, 57.

388 Pat-El and Wilson-Wright, "Features of Archaic Biblical Hebrew and the Linguistic Dating Debate," 405–6.

389 Enzo Cortese, *Preghiera del Re: Formazione, Redazione e Teologia dei Salmi di Davide*, RivBibSup 43 (Bolgna: Dehoniane, 2004), 102.

390 Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 58.

391 Smith, "YHWH's Original Character," 31.

392 Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets," 256.

393 Lortie, *Mighty to Save*, 94.

394 Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets," 232, 258.

395 Henrik Pfeiffer, "Die Herkunft Jahwes und ihre Zeugen," *BTZ* 30 (2013): 19; Matthias Köckert, "Von Einem zum Einzigen Gott," *BTZ* 15 (1998): 173. Fabian Pfitzmann, *Un YHWH venant du Sud? De la réception vétérotestamentaire des traditions méridionales et du lien entre*

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needed to be replaced theologically and a mythic "Wild Sinai" compensated for it.[396] Pfeiffer sees Sinai as central to these variants, and that necessitates dating them after the late text Exodus 19.[397]

Römer dubbed Pfeiffer's idea "allegorical exegesis,"[398] and stated, "The idea that these poetic texts, which are also grammatically exceedingly difficult, are a deliberate theological invention by editors in the Babylonian or Persian era seems anachronistic."[399] *None* of the variants know the Law's revelation on Sinai even in the Exodus 19 form.[400] Pfeiffer dismisses all linguistic evidence to the contrary as archaism. He ignores the evidence of Kuntillet Ajrud (it is Northern Kingdom and thus irrelevant for Judahite literary traditions[401]) and the Shasu-Yahweh (see Chapters Two and Four, below).[402] He barely touches on archaeology at all,[403] and exegesis of these passages must take into account archaeology, Ancient Near Eastern texts, and the Bible.[404]

We can now index the variants feature by feature, but noting the combinations of integers. Each static integer (noun) I call an "image"; each combination of image plus verb is a "motif."[405] Images and motifs combine in various ways to form "themes," which in turn imply things about the images (e.g., one image is alive; it can move).[406] Themes themselves can combine into "narrative patterns,"[407] but I am not yet interested in that level.

Madian, le Néguev et l'exode (Ex-Nb; Jg 5; Ps 68; Ha 3; Dt 33); Orientalische Religionen in der Antike (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020) appeared too late to be considered for this study.

396 Henrik Pfeiffer, *Jahwes Kommen von Süden: Jdc 5, Hab 3, Dtn 33, und Ps 68 in ihrem literatur- und theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld*, FRLANT 211 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 268; Pfeiffer, "Die Herkunft Jahwes und ihre Zeugen," 22–24.

397 Pfeiffer, *Jahwes Kommen von Süden*, 67, 90.

398 Römer, "The Revelation of the Divine Name to Moses and the Construction of a Memory about the Origins of the Encounter between Yhwh and Israel," 313 n. 10.

399 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 47.

400 Axelsson, *The Lord Rose up from Seir*, 57.

401 Pfeiffer, "Die Herkunft Jahwes und ihre Zeugen," 37.

402 H. G. M. Williamson, "Review of *Jahwes Kommen von Suden* by Henrik Pfeiffer," *VT* 58 (2008): 281.

403 Martin Leuenberger, "Jhwhs Herkunft aus dem Süden. Archäologische Befunde – biblische Überlieferungen – historische Korrelationen," *ZAW* 122 (2010): 3; Leuenberger, *Gott in Bewegung*, 13.

404 Leuenberger, *Gott in Bewegung*, 33; Müller, "Kolloquialsprache und Volksreligion in den Inschriften von Kuntillet ʿAgrud und Hirbet el-Qom (1992)," 172.

405 Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice: A Methodological Framework for Historical Analysis," *Retrospective Methods Network Newsletter* 10 (2015): 39. The term "motif" originated with Goethe and Schiller, used for minimal units to which tales could be reduced and that occur in more than one story, and this usage was already criticized in the early 1900s; Dan Ben-Amos, "The Concept of Motif in Folklore," in *Folklore Studies in the Twentieth Century: Proceedings of the Centenary Conference of the Folklore Society*, ed. Venetia Newall (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brewer, 1980), 18, 20, 25.

406 Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice," 40, 42.

407 Frog, 40, 46.

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The basic RMS in these variants is [NAME FOR GOD] CAME [OR MARCHED] FROM [SOUTHERN LOCALE]. This RMS occurs in Variants 𐤇, 𐤌, 𐤑, and 𐤁, although there the tense is future. Variant 𐤊 lacks even these basic integers, having only the image GOD and the motif GOD MARCHES.

GOD MARCHED FROM THE SOUTH is the basic theme. This requires that the integer GOD is a being that moves on earth. That notion is ubiquitous in those parts of the Hebrew Bible that readily anthropomorphize God, parts such as the so-called Yahwist Source.

More intriguingly, God has at one time resided in the south, for him to be able to come from there. I do not think this is about Sinai. First, no tradition has God dwelling on Mount Sinai. The closest is two places (Exod 3:1, 1 Kgs 19:8) that refer to Mount Horeb as the "Mountain of God." Exodus 3:5 says the ground there is holy. Exodus 24 has Moses "come up to meet the LORD." But both the Yahwist and Priestly layers understand this to mean that God, too, has to arrive at Sinai from somewhere else, in both cases from above, the heavens. Thus Exod 19:11 (J) has, "the Lord will come down upon Mount Sinai in the sight of all the people," and Exod 24:16 (P) has, "the glory of the Lord settled on Mount Sinai." Moreover, as we have seen, the theophanic variants we have been examining are not about the Sinai experience at all.

This theme means "The South" needs to reckoned with as itself a divine abode. When God dwells on earth in the Hebrew Bible, it is typically in Zion, including in Psalm 68, in vv 17–18 (also Ps 9:11; Joel 3:17–21; cf. *Jubilees* 7:11–12). Here it is in Teman, Seir, Edom.

From the south, Yahweh has approached Israel; he is not marching past Israel or to some other location. It is, therefore, a horizontal theophany.[408] The south is not, therefore, a temple or shrine, not a place where God is meant to be worshipped or where he can be encountered. It is instead comparable to the heavens, or comparatively speaking, Mount Zaphon in Ugaritic mythology or the Greek Mount Olympus.

Indexing the variants, there are six registers:

1. YAHWEH CAME FROM SEIR—found in 𐤇 and
2. [GOD] CAME FROM TEMAN—found in 𐤑 with "Eloah" (and 𐤁 with Yahweh and Adonai-Yahweh)
3. [GOD] CAME FROM PARAN— found in 𐤑 with "Eloah" and in 𐤇 with Yahweh
4. [GOD] CAME FROM SINAI—found in 𐤇 with Yahweh
5. [GOD] CAME FROM EDOM—found in 𐤌 with Yahweh
6. [GOD] CAME FROM THE DESERT—found in 𐤊 with Elohim

408 Thus, the 12th-century Sicard of Cremona attaches Hab 3:3 to the image of the deacon ascending before the congregation to read the Gospel; Sicard of Cremona, *Sicardi Cremonensis episcopi Mitralis de officiis*, trans. Gábor Sarbak and Lorenz Weinrich; Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis 228 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), bk. 3, chap. 4, p. 155, line 64.

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A storm theophany, more at home in traditions tied to Northwest Semitic myth, is found in Variants 𐤄, 𐤐, and 𐤏.

I note first of all that none of these variants use Elohim for God, unless replacing an original "Yahweh" was necessitated by the redaction of the Elohistic Psalter. Could this be because the traditions here are so strictly monotheistic that a plural form would be anathema?

Other scholars have suggested various sequences and dependences among these variants. Thus, Frolov argues for 𐤐 > 𐤄.[409] Pfeiffer's 𐤄 and 𐤑 > 𐤇 is possible, but the borrowing is not as late as he believes. Römer's 𐤄 > 𐤐 > 𐤇 > 𐤑 is possible.[410] Bechmann and Lipiński argue that 𐤐 borrows from 𐤄.[411] If it were simply a question of which text is the oldest, that would likely be Judges 5 (𐤄). But it is not about the age of the passage where the variant occurs; it is about the age of the register in the variant.[412] For that, we need a different procedure: Retrospective Methods.

Deuteronomy 33 may have added Sinai from other biblical texts, localizing the tradition.[413] It shows a tradition that has been elaborated.[414] Zechariah 9 seems to be generalizing, and its changing the motif to future tense causes it to lose much of its folkloric quality; both are signs of the theme developing.[415] Habakkuk 3 seems to have lost members, as does Psalm 68, which has borrowed incorrectly from Judges 5.[416] Edom in Judges 5 is unlikely to have been added, given the Hebrew Bible's general abhorrence of Edom;[417] by the 8th century, Edom was the archetypical villain, second only to Babylon in excoriation.[418] We might, therefore, consider the element Edom as lost in the other variants.[419] On the other hand, Edom is a familiar term in the Hebrew Bible; Paran, Seir, and Teman are not. Replacing rare words is a typical movement in the development of folklore.[420] Since Paran, Seir, and Teman occur in multiple variants while Edom, Sinai, and the desert do not, the more vague references to the south are probably primary. That several of the early

409 Frolov, "How Old Is the Song of Deborah?," 173.

410 Römer, "Revelation of the Divine Name to Moses and the Construction of a Memory About the Origins of the Encounter between Yhwh and Israel," 313.

411 Bechmann, *Deboralied zwischen Geschichte und Fiktion*, 52–53; Lipiński, "Juges 5,4–5 et Psaume 68,8–11," 202.

412 Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, 102.

413 Krohn, 67, 79–80; Egeler, "Retrospective Methodology for Using Landnamabok as a Source for the Religious History of Iceland?" 88.

414 Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, 67; Egeler, "Retrospective Methodology for Using Landnamabok as a Source for the Religious History of Iceland?" 88.

415 Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, 67; Egeler, "Retrospective Methodology for Using Landnamabok as a Source for the Religious History of Iceland?" 89.

416 Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, 66, 75.

417 Blum, "Der historische Moses und die Frühgeschichte Israels," 54.

418 Hummel, *Ezekiel 21–48*, 1018.

419 Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, 66.

420 Krohn, 79–80.

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translations of the variants (Latin, Syriac, Barberini Greek) used "from the south" instead of "Teman" suggests they already interpreted the theme to be an image of a deity who merely comes from the south as his place of origin.[421]

Additionally, we should be clear that registers like these are never the creation of one author.[422] While there is value in finding the date of these variants so that we can historically situation the authors,[423] nailing down the precise century of authorship or even exact sequence of registers is not essential, because individual authors with beliefs evolve in tandem with developing inherited traditions.[424] Poetic imagination is a social activity, its reflection on the world, on the past, and on God (in this case) gives rise to something that tradition, convention, and societal discourse puts into language.[425]

In terms of traditions history, these variants originated before most of the memorats of the Kenite Hypothesis. Dating is not the only reason for emphasizing these variants more than the Kenite Hypothesis memorats. Traditions tied to particular locations are durable, changing less than narrative legends.[426] Landscape-bound traditions persist with little alteration, even when the landscape itself changes, as the southern Negev did not.[427]

I have entertained the possibility that some of those Kenite Hypothesis memorats could derive *from* this theme. In other words, an early strong tradition that

421 Banister, "Theophanies in the Minor Prophets." Teman occurs with the meaning "south" in the Syriac of Matt 12:42 and Luke 12:55.

422 Maud Bodkin, *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry (1934)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 268; David Boucher, *Texts in Context: Revisionist Methods for Studying the History of Ideas*, Martinus Nijhof Philosophy Library 12 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1985), 151; Timothy R. Pauketat, "Founders Cults and the Archaeology of Wa-Kan-Da," in *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, ed. Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker; SAR Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), 61; Gunnell, "Nordic Folk Legends, Folk Traditions and Grave Mounds," 19; Yuri Berezkin, "Folklore and Mythology Catalogue," *Retrospective Methods Network Newsletter* 10 (2015): 59; Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice," 49.

423 Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," 46–48.

424 Bodkin, *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry*, 8, 277–78; Mark Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 194–96.

425 Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," 10; Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice," 50; Lotte Tarkka, "Myth, Utopia, and the Unseen: An Academic History of 'Imagination'" (Paper presented to the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, Miami, 2016).

426 Gunnell, "Nordic Folk Legends, Folk Traditions and Grave Mounds," 23–24; Yelena Helgasdóttir, "Retrospective Methods in Dating Post-Medieval Rigmarole-Verses from the North Atlantic," in *New Focus on Retrospective Methods: Resuming Methodological Discussions: Case Studies from Northern Europe*, ed. Eldar Heide and Karen Bek-Pedersen; Folklore Fellows' Communications 307 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2014), 98–99; Frog, "Mythology in Cultural Practice," 34; Siikala, "What Myths Tell about Past Finno-Ugric Modes of Thinking," 15.

427 Sävborg, "Scandinavian Folk Legends and Icelandic Sagas," 85; Egeler, "Retrospective Methodology for Using Landnamabok as a Source for the Religious History of Iceland?" 81; Berezkin, "Folklore and Mythology Catalogue," 59.

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the origins of Yahweh were in the region to the north and east of the Gulf of Aqaba could lie behind the character of Jethro and the entire notion of a people called Kenites. Biblical authors have made "nonhistorical time seem like history."[428] I do not think that is a very likely scenario, however.

Rather, I think there are two things that underlie the registers found in these variants. I have elsewhere considered the extent to which the motifs preserved in these variants function as mythic language, referring not only to a historical south but also to the *mythic* south. But regardless of that, I think there is something historic behind them, that "history per se is inscribed in a nonhistorical time" in these variants.[429] When I put these variants together with a tradition going back to at least 700 BC that there were non-Israelite Yahweh-worshippers north and east of the Gulf of Aqaba and that Yahweh in name at least entered Israel through their influence, it suggests a historical reality. When we add the fact that, as we shall see, Egyptian sources of 1300 BC refer to a people they call the "Shasu of Yahweh" in precisely the same region—regardless of whether Yahweh here is a place name or a divine name—that suggestion is strengthened. In the meantime, the strength of the 8th-century datum point for Yahweh of the South rests not only on the biblical evidence, but as well on inscriptions from the site of Kuntillet Ajrud.

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428 Marilena Papachristophorou, "Narrative Maps, Collective Memory, and Identities," *Narrative Culture* 3 (2016): 70.

429 Papachristophorou, 70.

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Chapter 2:
Evidence from Kuntillet ʿAjrud

"I bless you by Yahweh and his Asherah" is what most biblical scholars think of when Kuntillet Ajrud is mentioned. That inscription does not feature in this study. Nevertheless, Kuntillet Ajrud's inscriptions are of great importance for Yahweh's "Southern" reputation, the Kenites, and the poetic variants we have just discussed.

Yahweh of Teman at Kuntillet Ajrud

The title "Yahweh of Teman" is found outside the Old Testament at Kuntillet Ajrud, and this adds historical weight to the idea that Yahweh with the South were associated early on.[1]

Kuntillet ʿAjrud (AKA Horvat Teman) is a small, one-period site situated between the southern Negev and the eastern Sinai peninsula. Its occupation dates back to the late 9th/early 8th century, according to its ceramics, paleography, and carbon-14 dating,[2] although Schniedewind has recently outlined a good argument that some activity at the site goes back to the 10th century.[3] It appears to have been a minor caravan stop with attached religious shrines.[4] In this latter function, the discovery of references to Yahweh at the site have rightly drawn the attention of historians of Israelite Religion. The item which has received the most attention is a pithos depicting three humanoid figures with an accompanying Hebrew inscription, "I bless you by (or to) Yahweh of Samaria and his A/asherah." But there are also several references to "Yahweh of Teman."

Most of the occurrences of Yahweh at Kuntillet Ajrud are to the name on its own (e.g., Stone inscriptions 1.2, Pithos A 3.1; Wall Plaster 4.2). "Yahweh of Teman," however, is found in several inscriptions. Twice it is written on Pithos B, at 3.6 and

1 Hans-Peter Müller, "Kolloquialsprache und Volksreligion in den Inschriften von Kuntillet ʿAgrud und Hirbet el-Qom (1992)," in *Wege zur hebräischen Bibel: Denken-Sprache-Kultur*, ed. Armin Lange and Diethard Römheld; FRLANT 228 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 172.

2 Nadav Naʿaman, "The Inscriptions of Kuntillet 'Ajrud Through the Lens of Historical Research," *UF* 43 (2011): 313; Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Date of Kuntillet Ajrud," *TA* 36 (2009): 110–19.

3 William M. Schniedewind, "An Early Iron Age Phase to Kuntillet Ajrud?," in *Le'Maʿan Ziony* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2017), 134–248.

4 Jeremy M. Hutton, "Local Manifestations of Yahweh and Worship in the Interstices: A Note on Kuntillet Ajrud," *JANER* 10 (2010): 188, likens the site to modern "Trucker's Chapels."

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at 3.9, the second with the definite article, "Yahweh of the Teman."[5] This might translate as "Yahweh of the South," or Teman may be treated as requiring a definite article, similar to "the Negev," "the Carmel," or "the Sharon."[6]

Twice, Asherah is associated with Yahweh of Teman: "I have blessed you by Yahweh of Teman and Asherata [sic]," Inscription D on Pithos B, and "May he bless you by Yahweh of Teman and Asherah," Inscription F on Pithos B.[7] In all these cases, Teman is written defectively. In Inscription G on Wall Plaster 4.1.1, Yahweh of Teman is written with plene spelling:[8] "Recount [praises] to Yahweh of Teman and Asherah. Yahweh of the South did good…set the vine…Yahweh of the South (or of *the* Teman) has …."[9]

The scholars responsible for publishing the site excavations read Yahweh of Teman in light of the biblical passages discussed in Chapter One and believe it simply refers to the revelation at Sinai.[10] That is unlikely. The main debate is whether Yahweh of Teman, Yahweh of Samaria—which also occurs at Kuntillet Ajrud, and whatever other Yahwehs there might be are different deities or whether they are different manifestations of the same deity. The latter perspective is that having two different appellations of Yahweh side-by-side distinguishes them as separate divinities,[11] and it is part of a larger question regarding "DN of GN" names in Akkadian (Ebla, Mari, Assyria), Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Phoenician texts.[12] Kyle McCarter famously stated this view in 1987, and it has been reiterated most extensively in Spencer Allen's 2011 dissertation.[13]

5 Shmuel Aḥituv, Esther Eshel, and Zeev Meshel, "The Inscriptions," in *Kuntillet ʿAjrud (ḥorvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border*, ed. Zeev Meshel, Shmuel Aḥituv, and Liora Freud (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012), 95–100; Thomas Römer, *The Invention of God* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 294 n. 15.

6 Shmuel Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*, Carta Handbook (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 318–19; Mark S. Smith, "The Blessing God and Goddess: A Longitudinal View from Ugarit to 'Yahweh and … His Asherah' at Kuntillet Ajrud," in *Enigmas and Images*, 2012, 215 n.39.

7 Na'aman, "Inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud Through the Lens of Historical Research," 301, 306; Nadav Naʿaman, "A New Outlook at Kuntillet ʿAjrud and Its Inscriptions," *Maarav* 20 (2013): 47.

8 Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "Inscriptions," 105–7.

9 Na'aman, "Inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud Through the Lens of Historical Research," 308; Brian B. Schmidt, "Kuntillet ʿAjrud's Pithoi Inscriptions and Drawings," *Maarav* 20 (2013): 69.

10 Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "Inscriptions," 130.

11 Ernst Axel Knauf, "Teman," *Wissenschaftliche Bibelportal der deutschen Bibelgesellschaft*, 2009, http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/en/stichwort/33170/.

12 Mark S. Smith, "The Problem of God and His Manifestations," in *Die Stadt im Zwölfprophetenbuch*, ed. Aaron Schart and Jutta Krispenz; BZAW 428 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 208–18.

13 Spencer L. Allen, *The Splintered Divine: A Study of Ištar, Baal, and Yahweh Divine Names and Divine Multiplicity in the Ancient Near East* (Boston: de Gruyer, 2011); cf. Smith, "Problem of God and His Manifestations," 219.

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The former view sees such terminology as indicating "local manifestations" of one single God.[14] Hutton describes this view at length.[15] It suggests "micro-religions" of the single "macro-religion," and the shrine at Kuntillet Ajrud would be for worshipping those micro- manifestations.[16] Although Hutton believes that on a certain level the micro-manifestations are separate beings, and both are and are not the same deity,[17] the fact that the same room has "Yahweh of Samaria" alongside "Yahweh of Teman" suggests the boundaries between manifestations are "porous."[18]

This scenario is certainly more true than a third idea of one Yahweh being distinct from another. Yet I would suggest, following Macdonald, an even stronger understanding, and refer, not to distinct manifestations or a "fragmented fluid divine self,"[19] but rather plural invocations.[20] It does not matter whether the historical process included merging of distinct divine figures—as no doubt it did, given the extent of El and Baal in the character of Yahweh—or whether we should also be imagining a simultaneous process of enlargement and multiplication from a single source. The result in vernacular Israelite religion was a variety of invocations of Yahweh.[21]

Moreover, Hutton misses the point by assuming "locally indigenous worship of Yahweh of Teman."[22] The fact that Kuntillet Ajrud is located in the south is a red herring. The Israelian (i. e., Northern Kingdom) political status of the site,[23] the Judahite pottery—both stylistically, as opposed to local, "Negebite," and

14 A. D. H. Mayes, "Kuntillet ʿAjrud and the History of Israelite Religion," in *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation*, ed. John R. Bartlett (London: Routledge, 1997), 62; Römer, *Invention of God*, 163.

15 Jeremy Hutton, "Southern, Northern, and Transjordanian Perspectives," in *Religious Diversity in Ancient Israel and Judah*, ed. Francesca Stavrakopoulou and John Barton (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 150; Hutton, "Local Manifestations of Yahweh and Worship in the Interstices," 181.

16 Hutton, "Southern, Northern, and Transjordanian Perspectives," 151, 153; Hutton, "Local Manifestations of Yahweh and Worship in the Interstices," 185.

17 Hutton, "Local Manifestations of Yahweh and Worship in the Interstices," 186.

18 Hutton, "Southern, Northern, and Transjordanian Perspectives," 153.

19 Hutton, "Local Manifestations of Yahweh and Worship in the Interstices," 205.

20 Nathan MacDonald, *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of "Monotheism,"* 2nd ed., FATII 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 71–72.

21 On the usage of the term "vernacular religion," see Zoja Karanović, Willem de Blécourt, and Ülo Valk, eds., "Legends as Narratives of Alternative Beliefs," in *Belief Narrative Genres = Žanrovi Predanja = Žanry Predanij* (Novi Sad: Filozofski Fak., Odsek za Srpski Književnost, 2012), 23, 25.

22 Hutton, "Southern, Northern, and Transjordanian Perspectives," 167; Hutton, "Local Manifestations of Yahweh and Worship in the Interstices," 201–2; also Na'aman, "Inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud Through the Lens of Historical Research," 304; Römer, *Invention of God*, 163; and Israel Finkelstein, "Notes on the Historical Setting of Kuntillet ʿAjrud," *Maarav* 20 (2013): 17.

23 Na'aman, "New Outlook at Kuntillet ʿAjrud and Its Inscriptions," 48.

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petrographically[24]—, the appearance of "Yahweh of Teman" in both the Hebrew and Phoenician scripts (see below),[25] and "Yahweh of Samaria" also appearing here, so far from Samaria, discount the need for such a view. Yahweh of Teman is the national God Yahweh.

Deities "of" a toponym are a common West Semitic practice, which does not necessarily refer to the specific worship of that god occurring at that place. For example, in the Mesha Stele, the apparent problem in line 3 if it is read "I built this high place for Chemosh in Qarho" (*kms bqrhh*) is that the stele was found in Dibon, not Qarhoh. Qarhoh is not a section of the city of Dibon, as the Transjordanian city of Qarhoh is attested in 13th century Egyptian lists of the IX Dynasty. Rather, the line refers to the god "Qarhoian Chemosh," worhipped at Dibon. Similarly, the Aramaic Nerab inscription (*KAI* 24) refers in line 2 (*sahar benerab*), not to Sinzeribni as the priest of Sahar at Nerab, but rather to the priest of "Nerabian Sahar." The genitive relationship is more blatant in both these cases than at Kuntillet Ajrud since both utilize the preposition *be*. Moreover, Mark Smith's analysis of the "Baals" attested in Ugaritic literature shows that in myth, deity lists, and rituals, these various Baals were always considered to be the *same being*.[26] This may help to explain the Kuntillet Ajrud appellations: "Samarian Yahweh" and "Temanian Yahweh" were worshipped at a site that was neither.[27]

Kenites at Kuntillet Ajrud

Kuntillet Ajrud has another important link to the biblical traditions about Yahweh's southern origins. Line 7 of Wall Plaster 4.3 reads "Cain (Heb. קין) destroyed a field and lofty mountains." This was written on the north doorjamb of the foyer to the "Bench Room" of Building A,[28] the most clearly cultic structure of the site.[29] Within Building A, the Bench Room served ritual functions, as it produced decorative fragments of Pithos A, woodwork pieces, exotica like fresh- and salt-water fish bones and shells, chalices, and fragments of white-plaster with remnants of

24 Na'aman, "Inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud Through the Lens of Historical Research," 300, 313; Na'aman, "New Outlook at Kuntillet ʿAjrud and Its Inscriptions," 48–49.

25 Schmidt, "Kuntillet ʿAjrud's Pithoi Inscriptions and Drawings," 71.

26 Smith, "Problem of God and His Manifestations," 220–30.

27 The argument of Nadav Naʿaman, "In Search of the Temples of YHWH of Samaria and YHWH of Teman," *JANER* 17 (2017): 88, that the shrine found at Beersheba and alluded to in Amos 5 and 8 is Yahweh's Teman temple is without basis.

28 Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "Inscriptions," 115.

29 Brian B. Schmidt, "The Iron Age Pithoi Drawings from Horvat Teman or Kuntillet Ajrud," *JANER* 2 (2002): 98–104; Brian B. Schmidt, *The Materiality of Power: Explorations in the Social History of Early Israelite Magic*; FAT105 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 15.

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inscriptions including Wall Plaster 4.1.[30] Inscription 4.3 is the only wall inscription found *in situ,* 1.2 m above the floor.[31]

The "translation" by Nadav Naʿaman of 2011 must be addressed, as this translation has been embraced by Israel Finkelstein and Thomas Römer.[32] Naʿaman translates the entire inscription, producing a variant of the Exodus narrative.[33] Yet, Naʿaman's text is based entirely on reconstructions, although he does not discuss the epigraphy.[34] Most of the letters Naʿaman reads cannot be seen on the inscription, and in the few cases where letters are visible,[35] Naʿaman regularly departs from the readings given by the initial decipherment of Aḥituv and Eshel.[36]

One could just as easily translate the line as "The Kenite(s) destroyed a field" or "The Kenite(s) devastated the territory" (cf. Gen 14:7; 32:4; 36:35; Hos 12:13). The final clause, מרמהרמ, could be translated either "lofty mountains" or "treachery," reconstructing perhaps a following בידו.[37] The original editors of the inscription do suggest a connection to the Kenites, and cite the Oracle of Balaam in Num 24:21, assigning the Kenites a "nest in the rock," as well as Jer 49:16's oracle against the Edomites who "live in the clefts of the rock, who hold the height of the hill…[who] make your nest as high as the eagle's."

Whether the translation is Cain or Kenites, in either case this inscription is important. The name Cain is unknown outside of Cain son of Adam and where it means Kenites. In Ran Zadok's exhaustive prosopography of Hebrew names, there is not a single קין.[38] The name קני occurs in an inscription from Khirbet el-Qom (c. 700 BC). This, however, is either derived from the West Semitic *qu-ni-i* (Aram. *Qa-né-e*) or shortened from DN+*qānâ*,[39] and its root is *QNY*, "to create," as it is in names attested at 6th–5th-century Elephantine, *Qnyh* (also attested at Babylon in the same period), *Qwnyh*, *Qwny*, and *Qny'*.[40] A place-name קינה may appear in

30 Schmidt, *Materiality of Power*, 20, 22; when no longer in use, ritual items from the Bench Room were deposited in the favissa of Locus 13 in the corner of the Bench Room; Ibid., 21, 32.

31 Schmidt, *Materiality of Power*, 115.

32 E.g., Finkelstein, "Notes on the Historical Setting of Kuntillet ʿAjrud," 21.

33 Na'aman, "Inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud Through the Lens of Historical Research," 312.

34 Joachim J. Krause, "Kuntillet ʿAjrud Inscription 4.3: A Note on the Alleged Exodus Tradition," *VT* 67 (2017): 3.

35 Ibid., 3–4.

36 Ibid., 3; they also depart from the cautious deciphering by Erhard Blum; Ibid., 5.

37 Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "Inscriptions," 115.

38 Ran Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 28 (Leuven: Peeters, 1988).

39 Ibid., 98, 106, 282.

40 Ibid., 291, 301; Ran Zadok, "Jews in Babylonia in the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods in the Literature of Babylonian Sources" (Diss., Tel Aviv University, 1976), 24 n.48; Walter Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*, Sitzungsberichte – Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 333 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978).

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Arad Inscription #24 (c. 600 BC).[41] The *he* is reconstructed, and the *nun* might also be a either *mem* or *kaf*.[42] If it is Qina[h], the context requires a town in Judah.[43] Other than the son of Adam and where it means "Kenites," the name Cain is unknown in all Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician propospography.[44]

The loss of the preceding six lines of this inscription make all interpretation guesswork, so it is hazardous to make much of possible connections to Numbers 24 or Jeremiah 49. So interpretation will have to focus on the inscription's location.

The nature and purpose of the site are much debated. Meshel proposes a dubious scenario where the site is a sort of monastery for priests and Levites, supported by Jerusalem, who practiced no cult at Kuntillet Ajrud but gave blessings to travelers.[45] Naʿaman conceives of the site as shrine of a large sacred tree.[46] Lemaire, Keel, Dijkstra, Hutton, and Blum have considered the site to be a caravanserai,[47] and it does sit on the main road from Philistia to the Gulf of Aqaba, a primary trade route from Arabia to the Levant and Egypt.[48] The difficulty with this interpretation is the absence of cooking pots or lodging rooms.[49] As Brian Schmidt has recently shown, the convergence of many lines of evidence supports seeing much of the purpose of Kuntillet Ajrud Building A as religious, without recourse to speculative hypotheses.[50]

So the Cain/Kenite inscription is situated at the entry to the Bench Room of this religious building. Another wall inscription at this location reads as follows:

41 Graham I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), para. 2.024.12. Naʿaman identifies this place with Horvat Uza and assumes it was inhabited in the Iron II period by Kenites. Noting a preponderance of Yahwistic names in its onomasticon, with few Baal- or El-names, as well as an altar at the site, he considers it a site of Kenite Yahweh-worship; Nadav Naʿaman, "The 'Kenite Hypothesis' in the Light of the Excavations at Horvat ʿUza," in *Not Only History*, ed. Gilda Bartoloni and Maria Giovanna Biga (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 171–82.

42 Yohanan Aharoni, *The Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 48.

43 Aharoni, 48.

44 Frank L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions : A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements*, Studia Pohl 8 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1972).

45 Zeev Meshel, "The Nature of the Site and Its Biblical Background," in *Kuntillet ʿAjrud (ḥorvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border*, ed. Zeev Meshel, Shmuel Aḥituv, and Liora Freud (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012), 68–69.

46 Naʿaman, "The Inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud Through the Lens of Historical Research," 317–18.

47 Schmidt, "Iron Age Pithoi Drawings from Horvat Teman or Kuntillet Ajrud," 96.

48 Naʿaman, "New Outlook at Kuntillet ʿAjrud and Its Inscriptions," 39, 42; Schniedewind, "Early Iron Age Phase to Kuntillet Ajrud?" 135.

49 Na'aman, "Inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud Through the Lens of Historical Research," 315.

50 Schmidt, *Materiality of Power*, passim, esp. 112, 116; and already, in nuce, Schmidt, "Iron Age Pithoi Drawings from Horvat Teman or Kuntillet Ajrud."

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And when God shone forth on *r*[
And mountains melted
And peaks were crushed
————————————
To bless the Lord on the day of batt[le
To the name of God on the day of batt[le

"The Lord" and "God" are preferable to "Baal" and "El," names that are extremely rare in Phoenician in comparison to the widespread usage of both אל and בעל with Yahweh in Iron II inscriptions.[51] This inscription features many of the motifs of the variants discussed in Chapter One. "Mountains disintegrating" from Judg 5:5 and Hab 3:6 is here, as is the shining forth of God from Deut 33:2 and Hab 3:4, using precisely the same verb *zrḥ*.[52]

Although Judah may have originally built the site,[53] for most of its use the territory surrounding Kuntillet Ajrud belonged to the Northern Kingdom.[54] Axelsson suggests the emphasis on Yahweh coming from the South in Northern Kingdom traditions,[55] including Elijah's journey to Mount Horeb, is due to the political inaccessibility of Jerusalem and Zion having displaced the South in Judah—the exact opposite of Pfeiffer's argument[56]—and Römer sees Kuntillet Ajrud as another example of this.[57] However, although Kuntillet Ajrud may have politically been Israel, as has been mentioned above, the pottery is Judahite, and the orthography mixed. On pithoi, the short *yaw* in theophoric personal names displays the Israelian orthography, while the Phoenician script on the wall plasters is Judahite orthography.[58] The latter script would have a formal, prestige status,[59] and it is in this script that the Cain/Kenite inscription appears.

51 B. A. Mastin, "The Inscriptions Written on Plaster at Kuntillet ʿAjrud," *VT* 59 (2009): 112; Hutton, "Local Manifestations of Yahweh and Worship in the Interstices," 197; contra Schmidt, *Materiality of Power*, 76, 90–100.

52 Nili Shupak, "The God from Teman and the Egyptian Sun God: A Reconsideration of Habakkuk 3:3–7," *JANES* 28 (2001): 109; Mastin, "Inscriptions Written on Plaster at Kuntillet ʾAjrud," 110–11.

53 Schmidt, *Materiality of Power*, 112.

54 Michael David Coogan, "Canaanite Origins and Lineage," in *Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. Patrick D. Miller, P. D. Hanson, and Sean D. McBride (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 115–36; Lars Eric Axelsson, *The Lord Rose up from Seir*, CB Old Testament Series 15 (Lund: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1987), 61–62.

55 Noted also by Marlene E. Mondriaan, "The Rise of Yahwism" (Diss., University of Pretoria, 2010), 336.

56 Axelsson, *Lord Rose up from Seir*, 61–62, 181.

57 Thomas Römer, "The Revelation of the Divine Name to Moses and the Construction of a Memory About the Origins of the Encounter between Yhwh and Israel," in *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider, and William H. C. Propp (New York: Springer, 2015), 313.

58 Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, 313; Mastin, "Inscriptions Written on Plaster at Kuntillet ʿAjrud," 99–105 disputes this understanding of the wall plaster script.

59 Schmidt, "Kuntillet ʿAjrud's Pithoi Inscriptions and Drawings," 71.

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Moreover, texts written on walls are always of themselves material objects of ritual practice.[60] Assyrian wall slabs were regularly inscribed on the inaccessible reverse side, indicating that the ritual was in the posting, not the reading.[61] Brown calls this "the iconicity of inscriptions" and "the talismanic force of inscription,"[62] and the prestige script and the physical location of the Cain text only increases that force. The Cain text, however, was readable, so we must consider the act of reading aloud (the only style known in antiquity) to have been a ritual act.[63]

One entered the Bench Room shrine past inscriptions that refer to Yahweh of Teman, well-attested throughout Kuntillet Ajrud, the shaking of mountains, the shining forth of God, and Cain or the Kenites. If we had the entirety of the Cain/Kenite inscription, assuredly much more would be added to what it means that Yahweh comes from the South, a tradition the site's inscriptions further support.

60 Joel Sherzer, *Verbal Art in San Blas: Kuna Culture Through Its Discourse.* (1990; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 123; Katherine Brown, "Silent Idol, Speaking Text: Prophetic Writing as Material Mediation of Divine Presence" (Diss., The Catholic University of America, 2018).

61 John Malcom Russell, *The Writing on the Wall : Studies in the Architectural Context of Late Assyrian Palace Inscriptions* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 212.

62 Brown, "Silent Idol, Speaking Text: Prophetic Writing as Material Mediation of Divine Presence."

63 David McLain Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 80.

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Chapter 3:
Other Extrabiblical Yahwehs

The divine name Yahweh appears several times among peoples who were not Israelites.[1] Most of these occurrences post-date Israelite usage, and so tell us little about the origin of Yahweh, southern or otherwise, but they are rarely if ever listed together in contemporary scholarship. Here they will be treated in roughly reverse chronological order.

Papyrus Amherst 63

Papyrus Amherst 63, discovered in 1932, is an anthology of diverse contents, ranging from a version of Psalm 20 to a story about Ashurbanipal and his brother,[2] dating to 2nd century BC Egypt.[3] If one accepts Steiner's interpretation, the authors were "pagan" Arameans living in Egypt close to the Jewish community of Elephantine.[4] These Arameans called themselves Bene Tabeel and had come from "Rash," or Arashu.[5] They had stopped on their way to Egypt at Bethel, where they remained until the water supply ran out (11.6–11). For Steiner, Bethel appears as a place-name here, not the name of a god, since the Egyptian god determinative is absent.[6] Steiner suggests that in Bethel, the Arameans learned a Northern King-

1 I do not include here Amorite *ia-aḫ-wi* and *ia-wi*, which are not theophoric at all but verbal forms of the root *ḤWY*; Michael P. Streck, "Der Gottesname 'Jahwe' und das amurritische Onomastikon," *WO* 30 (1999): 35–46; or Franz Delitzsch's supposed Sumerian god "I" which the Babylonians called "Yau"; Lewis Bayles Paton, "The Origin of Yahweh-Worship in Israel: I," *The Biblical World* 28 (1906): 9; or speculation by Richard Hess and others on Yahwistic names at Alalakh; Marlene E. Mondriaan, "The Rise of Yahwism" (Diss., University of Pretoria, 2010), 264.

2 R. C. Steiner, "Papyrus Amherst 63: A New Source for the Language, Literature, Religion, and History of the 'Aramaeans,'" in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, ed. Markham J. Geller, Jonas C. Greenfield, and Michael Weitzman, JSSSup 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 203, 206; Karel van der Toorn, ed., *Papyrus Amherst 63*, AOAT 448 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2018), 6, 38.

3 Morton Smith, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 130 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 243; C. F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 261.

4 Steiner, "Papyrus Amherst 63," 205.

5 Sven P. Vleeming and Jan-Wim Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63* (Amsterdam: Juda Palache Instituut, 1985), 1.7.

6 Steiner, "Papyrus Amherst 63," 205.

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dom version of Psalm 20 (11.11–19) from Samaritan soldiers, who are mentioned elsewhere in the text.[7]

Van der Toorn's interpretation is different. For him, Bethel is a god, since in some places this name seems to alternate with the epithet "the Lord."[8] Rather simplistically, he considers those who worship Nabu to be Babylonians, Bethel's worshippers Syrians from Rash, Yahow's worshippers Israelite Samaritans[9]—Samaritan troops under a Judahite commander fleeing the Assyrians and arriving at Palmyra.[10]

In either case, this farrago document shows Demotic worship connecting "Yahow" with Sahar, El Bethel (if Bethel is a god), and Baalshamin.[11] Other gods mentioned in the text include Nabu and Anat. The text tells us nothing about the origins of Yahow.

Yahweh in Sinai

In the 1880s, Julius Euting—Orientalist and founder of the Alsatian rambling society *Club Vosgien*—undertook an expedition to the Sinai peninsula to record over a thousand rock inscriptions. Near to the Feiran Oasis (Knauf's Paran), in the Wadi ʿAlejjat, he found twenty inscriptions, most of them with personal names, many of them theophoric, sc. Adalbali, Orpheus, Muʿajjru, Saʿadallahi, etc. The inscription from Wadi ʿAllejat Euting published as No. 156 and which he considered "pre-Nabatean" reads, "Greetings! Ghabijju son of עבדאהיו.[12] In the Wadi Mukattab near St Catherine's Monastery, linking the road in the Wadi Feiran with the Wadi Maghera's turquoise mines, Euting found 231 inscriptions. Pre-Nabatean inscription No. 472 contains the same name, in a short inscription that reads, "עבדאהיו son of Odo."[13] Euting reports that the name may occur on a third inscription, but the reading is doubtful so he does not count it as a parallel.[14]

7 Steiner, 204, 206; Nims and Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," 270.

8 Van der Toorn, *Papyrus Amherst 63*, 6.

9 Van der Toorn, 7, 18.

10 Van der Toorn, 10–11.

11 Van der Toorn, 7, 30; Smith, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, 243. Horus is not mentioned, although the name was originally read in *Ḥr*. Based on the relationship of the Egyptian ꜣ and the Semitic ʾ, the occasional use already of the Demotic *ḥr* for *h*, and the fact that the final letter is clearly *w*, the supposed reference to Horus is actually *3-ḥr-w* from יהו, Yahweh; Karl-Thomas Zauzich, "Der Gott des aramaisch-demotischen Papyrus Amherst 63," *Göttinger Miszellen* 85 (1985): 90.

12 Julius Euting, *Sinaïtische Inschriften* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1891), sec. 156.

13 Euting, sec. 472.

14 Euting, sec. 156.

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He is unsure of the second element's vocalization, suggesting the name is either Obed- (or Abd-) ʾUhayyu or -ʾAhiyyu.

This personal name is "Servant of" (עבד) + divine name, but no divine name אהיו appears in the standard West Semitic lexica and onomastica.[15] Parsed, ʾUhayyû or ʾAhiyyu would be a Pael first person singular prefixing form: "I cause to be." For this reason, Hans-Peter Müller and Meindert Dijkstra, following Jean-Baptiste Chabot and Mark Lidzbarski, understand the theophoric element in "ʾAbdʾu-hayyu" or "ʿObed-ʾAhiyyu" to be Yahweh, under the Exod 3:14 moniker of אֶהְיֶה.[16]

Euting's dating, however, perpetuated by later scholars, is too early. The script is the standard Nabatean script of the 1st to 3rd centuries AD.[17] The divine name plausibly could have come from Jews (who would certainly not have used it in this form themselves) to some syncretistic individuals in Sinai, akin to the authors of Papyrus Amherst 63. That the name was found so close to Mount Sinai is arresting, but irrelevant.

Yahweh in 8th-century Syria

Over a half century ago, it was proposed that an "Azzariyaw" or "Azriyau" of "Yaudi" from Tiglath-pileser's fragmentary Annals of 738 was Uzziah.[18] Landsberger thought it was Azariah.[19] Naʿaman and Shea showed that the supposed parallel name Izri-Yau in text K6205 comes from the reign of Sennacherib, not Tiglath-pileser,[20] and Naʿaman proved was "Izri-Yau of my frontier and Judah."[21] The Tiglath-pileser text makes Azriyau the main enemy of the Assyrians in the region of Hamath.[22] Azriyau took nine districts of Hamath before joining the

15 Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *KAI* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002); Jean Hoftijzer et al., *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols., Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.21 (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

16 J. -B. Chabot, *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916), 3.77–78; Mark Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris Semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1915), 3.270; Hans-Peter Müller, "Kolloquialsprache und Volksreligion in den Inschriften von Kuntillet ʿAgrud und Hirbet El-Qom (1992)," in *Wege zur hebräischen Bibel: Denken-Sprache-Kultur*, ed. Armin Lange and Diethard Römheld, FRLANT 228 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 172–73; Meindert Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," in *Only One God?*, Bob Becking, Meindert Dijkstra, Marjo C. A. Korpel, and Karel J. H. Vriezen, Biblical Seminar 77 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 86.

17 Christopher Rollston, personal communication.

18 Tadmor, "Azriyau of Yaudi," 254–55, who does not hold this view.

19 Benno Landsberger, "Azriyau of Yaudi," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1961): 232–71.

20 William Shea, "Menahem and Tiglath-Pileser III," *JNES* 37 (1978): 47.

21 Stephanie Dalley, "Yahweh in Hamath in the 8th Century BC," *VT* 40 (1990): 23.

22 Tadmor, "Azriyau of Yaudi," 266.

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unsuccessful revolt of Patin (Unqi) against Assyria.[23] Hamath itself is unnamed, yet it pays tribute in late 738, so Azriyau may be the ruler of Hamath, filling the lacuna after Zakur where it is unclear who ruled Hamath—or he may be allied with Hamath, but there is no Yaudi.[24]

A decade or so later, last king of Hamath was named Yaubidi. Tadmor and Coogan believed he was Israelite by birth.[25] Both immigrants and deportees from the northern kingdom (Dor Province 734, Gilead and Megiddo Provinces 733, Samaria Province 722) were present in the Assyrian court and military,[26] as witnessed by individuals with Hebrew names Aḫi-ia-u,[27] soldiers Quʾya[u], Hilqiya[u], Giriyau, and Yasuri.[28] Rising to rulership of Hamath, however, seems a different matter, although Dalley believes it explains the otherwise odd close relations between Israel and distant Hamath.[29] Yaubidi also rebelled against Assyria, with Samaria, Arpad, and Damascus as allies, but was defeated at Qarqar in 720 and flayed alive by Sargon II.[30]

Yahweh in Sealand

Texts from Sealand (MS 2200) dating shortly after the fall of Babylon in the 6th century contain two names of interest, *arad*(ÌR)*iaʾú* and *ìlíʾiaʾú*.[31] The *iaʾú* is not an abbreviation of *ʾutu*.[32] These are theophoric names based on the divine name *Yau*.

In the same region as Sealand was the Chaldean tribe of Bit Jakin, strongest of the five Chaldean tribes that came to possess Larsa, Eridu, and six other fortified

23 Hayim Tadmor, Shigeo Yamada, and Jamie R. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 62–63; Trevor Bryce, *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 137, 264.

24 Dalley, "Yahweh in Hamath in the 8th Century BC," 24.

25 Coogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings* (AB), 166.

26 Stephanie Dalley, *Legacy of Mesopotamia* (Oxford: University Press, 1998), 62–63; Dalley, *Esther's Revenge at Susa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 14; Tadmor, "Assyria and the West," 42; Walter Mayer, "Gedanken zur Deportation im Alten Orient," in *Macht und Herrschaft*, ed. Christian Sigrist, AOAT 316; (Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004), 225–26. One of Dalley's Samarians is challenged in Ran Zadok, "Neo-Assyrian Notes," in *Treasures on Camels' Humps*, ed. Mordechai Cogan and Dan'el Kahn (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2008), 329.

27 *ADD* 176.4 from the early 8th century.

28 ND 2443 2.2, 6; 4.4; ND 2621 1.3'; 2.9'-10'; Tadmor, "Aramaization of Assyria," 450–51; Gershon Galil, "Israelite Exiles in Media," *VT* 59 (2009): 71–79.

29 Dalley, "Yahweh in Hamath in the 8th Century BC," 29, 31.

30 Bryce, *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms*, 138, 275.

31 Stephanie Dalley, *Babylonian Tablets from the First Sealand Dynasty in the Schoyen Collection*, Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, Cuneiform Texts 3 (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 2009), 9, 72 n.6.

32 Dalley, 72.

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cities.[33] By 900, they had overwhelmed Babylon and supplied Babylon with six kings prior to Esarhaddon, who managed to make them his allies.[34] The name, *bīt iâʾkīnu* should be translated as "the house *Ya* has made humble.[35] Since foreign divine names are not formed in Akkadian with the nominative ending *-u[m]*, *iʾaú* does not show declension. For this reason—and because the West Semitic letter *he* would not be represented in Akkadian—the *ú* requires the proper name of the god to be *Yahwa*.[36]

In these cases, although the presence of "Yahweh" in southern Mesopotamia is hard to explain, the occurrences listed above are late enough to post-date Israel's use of the divine name Yahweh. More difficult are the Kassite-period names from Nippur, *iaʾúbani* (in BE 15 184 I 7', 16'; BE 15 200 I 37, ii 16.25; and CBS 6886 = MUN 118) and *Aradiaʾú* (in N 181:6').[37] The *iaʾú* component is again where a divine name ought to go. It is not the 1st person possessive ending "mine,"[38] as translated by Hölscher, because *iaʾú* was not used as a hypocoristic ending at that time and *iāʾu*, "mine," in Akkadian was contracted to *iû* already by the end of the Old Babylonian period and never occurs in the uncontracted form thereafter.[39]

The Kassites were a people from the Zagros Mountains first mentioned in the 18th century BC as warlords at Terqa (Tell Ashara),[40] who took over Babylon around 1500.[41] The main Kassite god Shuqamuna-Shugab was identified with Marduk (BM 47406, line 13 = CT 24, 50).[42]

33 Dietz Otto Edzard, *Geschichte Mesopotamiens: Von den Sumerern bis zu Alexander dem Grossen*, Beck's Historische Bibliothek (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2004); Barbara N. Porter, *Images, Power, and Politics: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 208 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993), 33–34.

34 Porter, *Images, Power, and Politics*, 34.

35 Jan Keetman, "Notes on the God Jaʾu and Bit-Jaʾkin," *Nouvelles assyriologique brèves et utilitaire* 1 (2017): 31; Keetman, "Wann und warum sprach man in Akkadischen einen Lateralfrikativ?" *UF* 38 (2006): 377; Andreas Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen: Cuvillier, 1994), 178.

36 Keetman, "Notes on the God Jaʾu and Bit-Jaʾkin," 31; Stephanie Dalley, "Gods from North-Eastern and North-Western Arabia in Cuneiform Texts from the First Sealand Dynasty, and a Cuneiform Inscription from Tell En-Nasbeh, c. 1500 B.C.," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 24 (2013): 182.

37 Dalley, "Gods from North-Eastern and North-Western Arabia in Cuneiform Texts from the First Sealand Dynasty," 182.

38 Dalley, *Babylonian Tablets from the First Sealand Dynasty in the Schoyen Collection*, 72.

39 Dalley, "Gods from North-Eastern and North-Western Arabia in Cuneiform Texts from the First Sealand Dynasty," 182. Dalley refers to Monika Hölscher, "Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur" (diss., Marburg, 1994), which I have not seen.

40 Beatrice Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopolic Collection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 28.

41 D. T. Potts, "Elamites and Kassites in the Persian Gulf," *JNES* 65 (2006): 112–13.

42 Elena Cassin, Jean Bottéro, and Jean Vercoutter, eds., *Die altorientalischen Reiche II: Das Ende des 2. Jahrtausends*; Weltgeschichte 3 (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1997), 63.

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There is a probable Kassite lapis lazuli seal from Late Bronze Age Megiddo with a short inscription dedicated to Marduk.[43] A Late Bronze Age seal from Beth Shean duplicates motifs of Kassite seals and includes a short inscription found on a Kassite seal from Babylon.[44] Seal #1.5925 from Beth Shemesh in the Rockefeller Museum also seems Kassite. Nevertheless, all the evidence for Kassites in Palestine is confined to the Late Bronze Age, and even in the Late Bronze Age, isolated Kassite individuals would not have provided the contact intensity needed to introduce Yahweh to Israel. For the purposes of this study, then, a Kassite origin for Yahweh can be ignored.

Stephanie Dalley has also noted 462 administrative texts from the first dynasty of Sealand, dated to about 1560 BC and the reign of Ayadaragalama.[45] Two foreign gods appear in these texts. One is Anzak, a variant spelling of Enzak/Inzak, whose normal range includes modern Failaka and Bahrain (ancient Dilmun), the mountains of Oman and the UAE, and Elam, and who had a temple both on Failaka and in eastern Arabia at Hajar.[46] Personal names occur in these texts as well that also suggest contact with this same region.[47]

If Anzak suggests links with eastern Arabia, northwest Arabia is suggested by the other divine name, which Dalley suggests is Yahweh. The divine name *ia-ú* appears in two different personal names: four times in the name *Arad*(ÌR)-*ia-ú* and once in the name *ì-lí-ia-ú*.[48] There is no dingir, but one would not be expected for West Semitic deities at that time.[49] There may be other occurrences of this divine name in contemporary Sealand texts, but Dalley admits those are more debatable,[50] although Krebernik lumps them all together in his rebuttal of Dalley.[51]

43 Dominique Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, Rev. ed. (London: British Museum Press, 2005), 61, #246.

44 Alan Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan, with Details of the Egyptian and Other Inscriptions Found on the Site,* (Philadelphia: University Press for the University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1930), 23, pl. 34 #3; Edward Theodore Newell and Hans Henning von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), pl. 19.

45 Stephanie Dalley, "Gods from North-Eastern and North-Western Arabia in Cuneiform Texts from the First Sealand Dynasty, and a Cuneiform Inscription from Tell En-Nasbeh, c. 1500 B. C.," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* (2013): 177.

46 Dalley, 181.

47 Dalley, 181.

48 Dalley, 182.

49 Dalley, 182.

50 Dalley, 182.

51 Manfred Krebernik, "The Beginnings of Yahwism from an Assyriological Perspective," in *The Origins of Yahwism*, ed. Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte, BZAW 484 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 61.

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These names have Akkadian elements, so they are not those of foreigners.[52] Dalley believes that copper trade linked Sealand to eastern Arabia and Anzak, and so, too, copper trade would tie Yah(weh) at Sealand with Midian.[53] This would be Tayma OP5:[54] as we will see in Chapter Six, while there is a cultural lacuna after the Early Iron Age at Tayma, the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Tayma is in direct continuity with the earlier levels of Tayma, and there is no reason not to believe that the Midianites of the Middle Bronze Age were more or less of the same culture as those of the LB-Iron I period. This will be important when we come to talk about the religion of those people.

Krebernik's arguments against Dalley are threefold.[55] First, the divine determinative is missing, although he admits this practice is not unusual. Second, he "would not categorically deny the possibility of an (admittedly unusual) hypocoristic ending" for *Arad*(ìr)-*ia-ú* and for one of the names Dalley admits is questionable—a prevarication that leaves Dalley's the Occam's Razer explanation. Krebernik's third argument is solely against a name Dalley considers debatable and does not base her argument upon. Finally, Krebernik quite rightly says that the comparison with Anzak is weak since contact with Dilmun is well-established while contact with Midian is not.[56]

I consider Dalley's to be a reconstruction that I cannot affirm with any degree of certainty, but which *would be probable* (i. e., there ought to be mention of the Midianite god Yahweh) *if* my own independent reconstruction presented in Chapter Seven below is valid. I will readily admit a key shortcoming that Krebernik oddly neglects to point out: the only reason to connect the names with Midian is that they are (apparently) Yahwistic. Dalley has no supporting non-theophoric personal names that also suggest Northwest Arabia as she does for Eastern Arabia alongside the Anzak theophoric names. The names cannot, therefore, be used to help establish Yahweh as the god of Midian, as Dalley's argument rather depends on that supposition.

52 Dalley, "Gods from North-Eastern and North-Western Arabia in Cuneiform Texts from the First Sealand Dynasty, and a Cuneiform Inscription from Tell En-Nasbeh, c. 1500 B. C.," 183.

53 Dalley, 183.

54 Ricardo Eichmann et al., "Tayma—Autumn 2005 and 2006, 3rd Report on the Joint Saudi Arabian-German Archaeological Project," *Atlal* 21 (2011): 65.

55 Krebernik, "The Beginnings of Yahwism from an Assyriological Perspective," 62.

56 Krebernik, 62.

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Yahweh the Baboon?

Thomas Römer has drawn attention to an argument by Thierry Bardinet that Yahweh—Yahweh from Teman in particular—is a baboon version of Seth.[57] Römer draws several parallels between Yahweh and Seth, parallels such as the absence of any children, and most especially the character of Baal-Seth as dragon-slayer like Yahweh.[58] Römer cites approvingly the 1865 work of the Dutch Egyptologist, Willem Pleyte, who argued for Sethian origins for Yahweh among other things on the basis of the biblical character, Seth: since Enosh is the son of Seth, Seth created "man."[59] But most of Römer's rationale comes from Bardinet's treatment of Papyrus Louvre E.32847, a medical text.[60]

P. Louvre E.32847 mentions a foreign god who dwells on Mount Laban in a region called Oûan.[61] The papyrus identifies Oûan as a place where Phoenician juniper grows. Laban also appears in conjunction with the Shasu (see Chapter Four, below). The god in the papyrus is supposedly described as being "particularly violent and is identified using the terms Egyptians used for designating the god Babi/Baba (an ape god). Babi, however, was a form of Seth and then finally of the god Thot," writes Römer.[62] On the basis of an argument that Phoenician juniper only grows in Edom and the connection of Laban to Shasu, Römer believes this baboon Seth was the god of the Shasu who eventually became Yahweh.

P. Louvre E.32847 is a medical text dealing with sicknesses attributed to the god Khonsu. The text does, in fact, speak of a god it twice calls "foreign" (*p3-n-rwty*) and associates with a land of Oûan.[63] This "foreign god" is depicted as ferocious, and is invoked against the tumors caused by Khonsu.[64] Also invoked against Khonsu's tumors (although the noun "tumors" is reconstructed) is "the baboon of Mount Laban" (recto 21.1–4; recto 23.7–8).[65] The foreign god of Oûan, however, need not be identical with the baboon of Laban. Oûan is identified as the land of

57 Thomas Römer, *The Invention of God* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), 48–49; Thierry Bardinet, "Le contrée de Ouan et son dieu," *Egypt nilotique et mediterraneenne* 3 (2010): 53–66.

58 For discussion, see Robert D. Miller II, *The Dragon, the Mountain, and the Nations: An Old Testament Myth, Its Origins and Afterlives*, Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations 6 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 122–23.

59 See more broadly pp. 117–29, 144–48. W. Pleyte, *La Religion des Pre-Israelites: Recherches sur le dieu Seth* (Leiden: Hooiberg, 1865), 123.

60 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 49.

61 Römer, 49.

62 Römer, 50; Thomas Römer, "Le Dieu Yahwh: Ses origines, ses cultes, sa transformation en dieu unique" (Paper presented at the College de France, March 9, 2012).

63 Bardinet, "Le contrée de Ouan et son dieu," 53.

64 Bardinet, 58.

65 Bardinet, 59.

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Phoenician juniper, but the word "baboon" is reconstructed in the sentence where that equation occurs.[66]

Bardinet notes that two divine baboons often accompany Khonsu in the New Kingdom.[67] Yet there is nothing to connect them with the Laban baboon invoked *against* Khonsu. Laban appears often in Egyptian texts, including Lists A and C of Thutmosis at Karnak and the Soleb and Amara West lists discussed in the next chapter. In these latter lists, Shasu of Laban are listed alongside both Shasu of Seir and Shasu of Yahweh. But this list also includes Pyspys, Samath, and Arbel Shasu; so while it might serve to locate Laban in southern Transjordan, it does not directly connect Laban with Yahweh—Pyspys and Samath are listed between the two terms—nor does the baboon ever appear in conjunction with Shasu (or Yahweh).

Bardinet also believes Laban and Oûan must be southern Transjordan because he maintains Jebel Haroun is the only place where Phoenician juniper grows.[68] Recall, however, that Oûan is never equated with Laban, or with a baboon. One Egyptian text identifies the "land of Phoenician juniper" as "West of the *Ḫereb* Desert," which must mean "West of the Jordanian desert."[69] West of the Jordanian desert is a broad zone, however. Moreover, Phoenician juniper is not confined to Jebel Haroun, but grows widely in the desert regions of the Middle East.[70] Edom does have it, but so does western Saudi Arabia, as well as the three anticlines of the northern Sinai peninsula, Jebel Yelleq, Jebel el-Maghara, and Jebel el-Halal, where it is extremely dense, and Mount St. Catherine in the southern peninsula.[71] All of these would qualify as "west of the Jordanian desert," as would southern Judah, where it also grows.[72] In pre-modern times, its range was even more extensive.[73]

Bardinet also equates the "foreign god" of Oûan, whom he believes is the baboon of Laban, with the Egyptian god Bebon, "forme séthienne du dieu Thot."[74] He believes the Egyptians assimilated the foreign baboon god of Oûan/Laban to Bebon because Bebon "était un dieu lunaire" and the moon is the "divinité

66 Bardinet, 60.

67 Bardinet, 60–61.

68 Bardinet, 63; Thierry Bardinet, *Relations économiques et pressions militaires en Méditerranée orientale et en Libye au temps des pharaons: histoire des importations égyptiennes des résines et des conifères du Liban et de la Libye depuis la période archaïque jusqu'à l'époque ptolémaïque*, Etudes et mémoires d'égyptologie 7 (Paris: Cybèle, 2008), 90.

69 Bardinet, "Le contree de Ouan et son dieu," 62.

70 Y. Waisel and Nili Liphschitz, "Juniperus Phoenica of North and Central Sinai," *Le-Yaaran* 18 (1968): 2–22.

71 Magdy El-Bana, Kamal Shaltout, Ahmed Khalafallah, and Hosni Mosallam, "Ecological Status of the Mediterranean *Juniperus Phoenicea L.* Relicts in the Desert Mountains of North Sinai, Egypt," *Flora* 205 (2010): 171–72, 175.

72 Robert P. Adams, *Junipers of the World*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver: Trafford, 2008), 241.

73 El-Bana et al., "Ecological Status of the Mediterranean Juniperus Phoenicea L. Relicts in the Desert Mountains of North Sinai, Egypt," 174.

74 Bardinet, "Le contree de Ouan et son dieu," 64.

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traditionnelle des populations nomades."[75] One cannot say, however, that nomads usually worship the moon, and moreover there are no nomads in P. Louvre E.32847.

In addition, Bebon's link to Seth, which allows Römer to bring in Baal-Seth, is weak.[76] Bebon can be a form of Thoth,[77] although he can also be Thoth's opponent, as in Papyrus Jumilhac 16.7–23.[78] However, Bebon is also identified with Osiris, Apophis, the stars, and Re.[79]

Bebon is most famous for his "überschäumenden Geschlechtslust,"[80] as in Pyramid Texts 313 (U218) and 315 (U220) which prominently feature his penis.[81] Römer does not ascribe this characteristic to Yahweh. Bebon is not even always a baboon, being regularly also depicted as a dog:[82] a red-speckled greyhound with black face, a seated black-and-white dog, or a dog-human hybrid.[83] And, of course, Papyrus Louvre E.32847 *does not mention* Bebon. There seems to be no value in continuing this line of research.

This survey is indispensable, but inconsequential. Listing extrabiblical occurrences or claimed occurrences of the divine name Yahweh does not contribute to understanding the origins of this name, despite claims to the contrary. The one remaining exception is the "Shasu-Yahweh," to which we now turn.

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75 Bardinet, 64.

76 James P. Allen, ed., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*; Writings from the Ancient World 23 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005); P. Derchain, "Nouveaux documents relatifs à Bebon," *ZASA* 90 (1963): 22, 25.

77 Dieter Kurth, "Bebon und Thot," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 19 (1992): 227. Thoth's baboon is more often named Astennu; Dieter Kessler, "Monkeys and Baboons," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2.431.

78 Christian Leitz, "Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Thoth und Baba," in *Quarentes Scientiam*, ed. Heike Behlmer (Göttingen: Seminar fur Agyptologie und Koptologie, 1994), 103–17.

79 Kessler, "Monkeys and Baboons," 2.430.

80 Leitz, "Auseinandersetzung zwischen Thoth und Baba," 105.

81 Christian Leitz and Dagmar Budde, eds., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Bd. 2:* ʿ *– b*, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 111 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), s.v. Baba.

82 Leitz, "Auseinandersetzung zwischen Thoth und Baba," 114–15.

83 Leitz and Budde, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 2.736–37.

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Chapter 4:
The Shasu Yahweh

The most important extrabiblical appearance of the Tetragrammaton is in Late Bronze Age Egyptian texts concerning the Semitic-speaking cattle nomads of West Asia known as Shasu (Eg. *šsw*,). Here is a reference to the divine name that predates the rise of Israel in Canaan,[1] a reference localized in the region north and east of the Gulf of Aqaba.

The Shasu first appear in a text of the 18th Dynasty (1549/1550–1292), in the *Biography of Ahmosis-Pennekhbet* (*BAR* 2.20–22, 41–42, 84–85, 124, 344), an official who served Pharaohs Ahmose through Menkheperre.[2] In this document, the name Shasu is accompanied by the determinative for "hill country."[3] Shasu appear thereafter in short lists and in more lengthy documents. In the account of Rameses II's battle at Kadesh (lines 8 and 19 in the "Bulletin"), two Shasu arrive as Hittite spies.[4]

Egyptian texts place the Shasu over a wide-ranging territory. A list of Thutmosis IV (d. 1391 or 1388) catalogues Shasu after Babylon and Tunip and before Kadesh and Tahash.[5] One of Rameses II's lists from the Temple of Ptah at Memphis catalogues the Shasu immediately before Libyans.[6] The term "Land of the Shasu" appears in a Rameses II inscription from Bubastis.[7] Papyrus Turin B, also from the time of Ramses II, refers to ointments and three varieties of oil imported from the "Land of the Shasu."[8]

Nevertheless, some texts locate them specifically in the Levant. Thutmosis III's fourteenth expedition in his 39th year (1465) was against the Shasu and

1 Robert D Miller II, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans: A History of Israel in the Twelfth and Eleventh Centuries B. C.* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012).

2 Raphael Giveon, *Les bedouins Shosou des documents egyptiens*; Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 9; Peter F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology* (London: Kegan Paul, 1988), 37; Dorman, "The Early Reign of Thutmose III," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 37–68.

3 Kenneth R. Cooper, "The Shasu of Palestine in Egyptian Texts," *Artifax* 21, no. 4 (2006): 24, properly, *Hügelland*.

4 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 67.

5 Giveon, 16.

6 Giveon, 97.

7 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 99.

8 Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 467.

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Retjenu, not "Retenu" but a place in Bashan, today's Golan Heights (line 517).[9] Six years earlier, Thutmosis III had battled Shasu bandits in the Land of Takhsy in the northern Beqaa Valley.[10] One list of Amenhotep III (d. 1353 or 1351) names an En Shasu, "Shasu Spring," alongside Khepes, Seger, Mount Sawe east of Tripoli, Magara (perhaps the Grotto of Adonis near Afqa), and *-bí-r-tá*.[11] Naʿaman identifies the latter with Ibirta, known from EA 83 and 104 as a place of Apiru.[12] Rainey discusses En Shasu extensively in conjunction with Rameside "Satirical Letter" (*COS* 3.2) in Papyrus Anastasi 1 (19.1–2 = 125.473–74), Ostracon 1005 from Deir el-Medina, and El Amarna letters EA 187 and 363, arguing for its location in the Beqaa Valley.[13] The (giant) Shasu in *P. Anastasi 1*, pars. 17–19, esp. 19.4 (=126.479–81), are depicted in the Levant, south of the Nahr al-Kabir al-Janoubi, in a list after Halba and Kadesh-on-Orontes.[14] A contemporaneous list puts the Shasu with Pehal (Pella in Transjordan), Qatna, and Gezer in Canaan.[15]

The description of the first campaign of Seti I (1291) on the north outer wall of the hypostyle hall of the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak provides an extended treatment of the Shasu. It places them in the "hill country" of Khurru (Canaan) near Gaza (probably the western Negev, as there are no hills near Gaza), between the border of Egypt at Tjaru and Pekanen (Canaan), where they were harassing the vassals of Egypt in Palestine (East of the Door, Scenes 1–11, esp. Scene 9, lines 104–108).[16]

A stele from Memphis (*COS* 2.3) of Amenhotep II (1427–1400), reporting his second Asiatic campaign (Year 9), contains a list of prisoners taken in the Levant which includes Shasu alongside Kharu, Maryannu, Nagasuites, and Apiru (Habiru), the semi-nomadic outlaws often identified with the early "Hebrews," and places their capture close to the Sea of Galilee.[17] Stelae set up by Seti I at

9 Richard A. Gabriel, *Thutmose III: A Military Biography of Egypt's Greatest Warrior King* (Washington: Potomac, 2009), 193.

10 Gabriel, 181.

11 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 23; Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, ed., *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I;* Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 44 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 158–60, 164; Nadav Naʿaman, "The Town of Ibirta and the Relationships of the Apiru and the Shosu," *Göttinger Miszellen* 57 (1982): 28.

12 Naʿaman, "Town of Ibirta," 28.

13 Anson F. Rainey, "Toponymic Problems," *TA* 2 (1975): 13–16; Anson F. Rainey and R. Steven Notley, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2006), 103.

14 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 125; Fischer-Elfert, *Satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*, 160; Na'aman, "Town of Ibirta," 28.

15 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 25.

16 Giveon, 59; Anson F. Rainey, "Shasu or Habiru: Who Were the Early Israelites?" *BAR* 34.6 (December 2008): 55; Rainey and Notley, "The Sacred Bridge," 103; Anson F. Rainey, "Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David P. Wright, David N. Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 490.

17 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 15.

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Beth-Shean describe an attack of Shasu on the people of Ruhma, whom it also identifies as Shasu.[18]

Some texts are even more precise. In Merneptah's Papyrus Anastasi 6.51–57 (COS 3.5), dated between 1226 and 1202, the "Shasu of Edom" (probably Cisjordanian) are given permission to migrate west past the border fortresses at Tjeku (Sukkoth) into the Goshen region of Egypt.[19] They are also called "Shasu of Edom" in a letter from a frontier official (638.14) during the reign of Siptah (fl. 1197–1191). In addition to the connection with Seir to be discussed below, Papyrus Harris I 76.9–11 (*COS* 4.2; exploits of Rameses III written by Rameses IV; 1151 BC) speaks of the "people of Seir among the tribes of Shasu."[20]

Later texts continued to use the term Shasu, often with little historical meaning. For example, a list of Pharaoh Taharqa (fl. 690–664) merely reproduces a list of enemies from an Amenhotep III listing.[21] Shasu prisoners-of-war are listed by Psammetichus I (fl. 664–610).[22] A tradition develops in the 9th century of the Shasu as magicians; they appear as such in amulets from the Bubastite Period now in the British and Turin Museums.[23] In later periods, "Shasu" is used as a generic term for peoples living east of Egypt (a tendency that began as early as the last Pharaohs of the 20th Dynasty),[24] as in a 2nd-century BC Horus myth,[25] Ptolemaic tombs,[26] and a text from Kom Ombo from the reign of Emperor Vespasian.[27]

What concerns the present study is two Shasu texts. The earliest—although it was discovered decades after the other—is Giveon's Document 6a, from the reign of Amenhotep III. It appears in two variants. One is from a boulder found in Room C of the Temple of Amun at Soleb in Sudan, dated 1370 BC.[28] This text reads, with Giveon's translation (except in line A.1):

18 William F. Albright, "The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele of Sethos I," *BASOR* 125 (1952): 27; Cooper, "The Shasu of Palestine in Egyptian Texts," 23.

19 Richard A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*; Brown Egyptological Studies 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), 293; Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 132; Lothar Ruppert, *Genesis*, FzB 3 (Wurzburg: Echter, 2005), 73; Rainey and Notley, "The Sacred Bridge," 103; Shmuel Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984), 90; Rainey, "Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society," 491.

20 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 136; Pierre Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I, BM 9999*, Bibliothèque d'étude 109/1–2, 129 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1994), 1.337.

21 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 21.

22 Giveon, 161.

23 Giveon, 156–57.

24 Giveon, 232.

25 Giveon, 165.

26 Giveon, 179.

27 Giveon, 193.

28 J. Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Egypte et au Soudan, 1960–1961: II. Fouilles au Soudan et decouvertes hors d'Egypte (Suite)," *Or* n.s. 31 (1962): 327–28; J. Leclant, "Le 'Tetragramme' à l'epoque d'Amenophis III," in *Near Eastern Studies: Dedicated to H. I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa*

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A 3) *t3 šsw smt*
2) *t3 šsw yhw*
1) *t3 šsw trbr*
B 1) *bt ᶜ*[*nt*]
Samath in the land of Shasu
Yahweh in the land of Shasu
Turibaru/Turbir/Torbyr in the land of Shasu
Beth A[nath][29]

The other variant of this first text is from the Hypostyle Hall of the same temple, on Pillar 4 in the northeast corner, which also contains the phrase "*t3 šsw yhw3*."[30] The final lexeme is .

It is not at all clear that "GN in the land of Shasu" is the proper translation, so I will use "Shasu-Yahweh" along with "Shasu-Smt," etc. The identification of *yhw* with Yahweh is almost universally accepted.[31]

The second Shasu-Yahweh text is a list of place-names found at Amara West in the Sudan dated to Rameses II (fl. 1279–1213). This text represents an earlier version of the Soleb list and probably derives originally from Thutmosis III times.[32] This reads, here with my own paraphrase of the accepted translations:

1) *šsw sᶜrr*
2) *šsw rbn*
3) *šsw pyspys*
4) *šsw smt*
5) *šsw yhw*
6) *šsw* [*t*]*wrbwr*[33]
1) Shasu-Seir
2) Shasu-Raban/Laban

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on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, ed. Masao Mori, Hideo Ogawa, and Mamoru Yoshikawa, Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 217.

29 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 27.

30 Manfred Görg, "Jahwe—Ein Toponym?," *BN* 101 (2000): 10–14; Martin Leuenberger, "Jhwhs Herkunft aus dem Süden. Archäologische Befunde – biblische Überlieferungen – historische Korrelationen," *ZAW* 122 (2010): 5; Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, 121.

31 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 28; Leclant, "Le 'Tetragramme' à l'epoque d'Amenophis III," 217; Görg, "Jahwe—Ein Toponym?" 14; André Lemaire, *The Birth of Monotheism: The Rise and Disappearance of Yahwism* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2007), 23; Faried Adrom and Matthias Müller, "Das Tetragramm in ägyptischen Quelle," *BTZ* 30 (2013): 139; Leuenberger, "Jhwhs Herkunft aus dem Suden," 6; contested by Henrik Pfeiffer, "Die Herkunft Jahwes und ihre Zeugen," *BTZ* 30 (2013): 39.

32 Raphael Giveon, "The Shosu of Egyptian Sources and the Exodus," in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies Papers* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1967), 1.193; Rainey and Notley, "The Sacred Bridge," 103.

33 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 76.

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3) Shasu-Payaspayas/Paspas
4) Shasu-Samath/Samata/Saimta
5) Shasu-Yahweh
6) Shasu-Turibaru/Turbir[34]

The first three lines of the Soleb inscription are thus duplicates of the last three lines of the Amara West inscription.[35]

The reference to Seir is important, since it appears in four different documents concerning the Shasu (Giveon's Nos. 16a, 25, 33, and 38).[36] There is no reason, therefore, to follow Weippert in seeing Seir in the Amara West text as a name referring in general to the territory in which the specific places listed below it are located.[37]

Astour contests the translation and location of the terms on the Soleb and Amara West lists, placing them all in the northern Levant: Paspas on the Litani River at Ein Fishfish, Samath on the Phoenician coast, Laban(a) in the middle of Syria, and Turbir as Turbul, or Byblos.[38] He especially questions Seir, since it is written with an extra *r* ( ) in the Amara West list, suggesting it refers rather to the site of Shehlal.[39] This has been followed by Ahlstrom and a few other scholars,[40] but the majority understand Seir in its usual sense.[41] This Seir of Rameses II is the same as the Seir of Rameses III in *P. Harris 1*, because a Luxor inscription puts the Pharaoh physically in the Moab-Dhiban area at the time.[42] As we have seen in Chapter One, such spelling errors occur throughout this text (lines 67, 97,

34 Martin Leuenberger, *Gott in Bewegung: Religions- und theologiegeschichtliche Beiträge zu Gottesvorstellungen im alten Israel*, FAT 76 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 16.

35 Leuenberger, "Jhwhs Herkunft aus dem Suden," 6.

36 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 236; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, 2.244.

37 Manfred Weippert, "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends," *Bib* 55 (1974): 265–433.

38 Michael Astour, "Yahweh in Egyptian Topographic Lists," in *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, ed. Agnes Wuckelt and Karl-Joachim Seyfried; Agypten und altes Testament 1 (Bamberg: Manfred Görg, 1979), 20–29; Adrom and Müller, "Tetragramm in ägyptischen Quelle," 134.

39 Astour, "Yahweh in Egyptian Topographic Lists," 21.

40 Adrom and Müller, "Tetragramm in ägyptischen Quelle," 135; Charles Aling and Clyde Billington, "The Name Yahweh in Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts," *Artifax*, Autumn 2009, http://www.biblearchaeology.org/post/2010/03/08/The-Name-Yahweh-in-Egyptian-Hieroglyphic-Texts.aspx; Jean-Daneil Macchi, "Aurait-on perdu les Shosou yahwistes du Sinai?" in *Lectio Difficilior Probabilior?* ed. Thomas Römer; Dielheimer Blatter zum alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der alten Kirche Beiheft 12 (Heidelberg: Esprint, 1991), 53.

41 Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," *JSOT* 33 (2008): 137; Leuenberger, "Jhwhs Herkunft aus dem Suden," 7; Sigfried Herrmann, "Der Name Jhw' in den Inschriften von Soleb," in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies Papers* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1967), 1.213; Leclant, "'Tetragramme' à l'epoque d'Amenophis III," 216.

42 Giveon, "Shosu of Egyptian Sources and the Exodus," 194.

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103, etc.),[43] and Astour's proposed *šʿr3r3*[] introduces an uncertain *š* (▭).[44] The association of Shasu with Edom supports reading Seir and locating Yahweh in that region, as does another text from Amara West that refers to [*t3š*]*sw p3-wnw,* "Shasu-Punon."[45] Beth Anat cannot be used to secure a northern region,[46] since most of the "Anat" element is reconstruction. Northern Shasu appear primarily in the early 18th Dynasty, while most of the 19th Dynasty puts them in the South.[47] And in any case, for a nomadic and semi-nomadic people, we should expect them to be found in a wide range of locales.[48]

Daniel Fleming's forthcoming work on the issues treated by this book also rejects a connection of the Shasu with Edom, but for different reasons, considering southern Shasu to be solely a late phenomenon. Nevertheless, to be clear: the Seir in the Shasu-Yahweh list is not the sole reason to place the Shasu-Yahweh near Edom. Shasu-Punon is also relevant, as is the sure evidence of Papyrus Anastasi 6 already in the 13th century.

The name "Shasu," was considered by Giveon to be Semitic, derived from the root שסה > שסס, "to plunder," already suggested by P. Jensen in 1895.[49] Redford prefers an Egyptian etymology, "wanderers,"[50] although Rainey does not think this possible because of the lack of the "legs" determinative.[51] He, as well as Jean-Daniel Macchi, prefer "shepherds," noting the Coptic *šôs*.[52]

The Shasu socially are primarily pastoralists, although they come to occupy many professions.[53] They were employed as mercenaries by the Egyptians and by the Hittites (see above).[54] Shasu never fight on horse- or camel-back, only on foot, as archers and guerillas (*P. Anast. 1* 23.7).[55] Shasu are said to have been circumcised.[56]

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43 Donald B. Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*; CHANE 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 92.

44 Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, 109 n. 491.

45 Manfred Görg, "Punon—Ein weiterer Distrikt der S3sw-Beduinen," *BN* 19 (1982): 15–21; Leuenberger, "Jhwhs Herkunft aus dem Suden," 10.

46 Thus, Manfred Görg, "Zur Identität der 'Seir-Länder,'" *BN* 46 (1989): 11.

47 Cooper, "Shasu of Palestine in Egyptian Texts," 24; Görg, "Zur Identität der 'Seir-Länder,'" 11.

48 Redford, *Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 92–93; Giveon, "Shosu of Egyptian Sources and the Exodus," 194.

49 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 262–63.

50 Redford, *Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, 91.

51 Rainey and Notley, "Sacred Bridge," 103.

52 Rainey, "Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society," 490; Macchi, "Aurait-on perdu les Shosou yahwistes du Sinai?," 53.

53 Cooper, "Shasu of Palestine in Egyptian Texts," 25.

54 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 243–44.

55 Cooper, "Shasu of Palestine in Egyptian Texts," 24.

56 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 202.

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Hoffmeier believes he has identified mud-daubed reed huts of the Shasu outside the military garrison at Tell el-Borg, 10 km east of the Suez Canal, a site of the Second Intermediate Period through the 18th Dynasty.[57] Forty percent of the material found in these loci was Levantine, including flint blades and copper tools.[58] It is impossible, however, to make the Shasu identification with any surety.

Many scholars have noted the tendency to depict individuals with tasseled waistbands, goatees, and hair held back with a headband when the Shasu are mentioned, and conclude this depiction always indicates Shasu.[59] Absent the name, however, I do not think this is reliable, as we cannot be certain that every Egyptian artist used precisely the same conventions, and certainly this cannot be applied to images made by non-Egyptians such as the Balu'a Stele.[60]

Only the texts that mention the Shasu-Yahweh differentiate various kinds of Shasu at all.[61] As Keith Basso observes for the Western Apache, these Shasu+GN were probably "groups of kin known to outsiders as 'clans,' whose names for themselves are really the names of places."[62] Yahweh here is a place name.[63] This seems the most logical sense, since the term is used in parallel with definite geographical names like Seir, although it is unclear whether it refers to a city, a land, or a mountain.[64] There is no reason to see this name as evidence that the Shasu themselves were Proto-Israelites.[65]

When divine names occur in place names, there is the possibility that the god personifies the place, and some have suggested this is what happened in the case of Yahweh.[66] Caquot cites the personal name Obed-Edom (2 Sam 6:10) as parallel, since the name must mean "Servant of" + divine name, and the name here is

57 James K. Hoffmeier, "New Archaeological Evidence for Ancient Bedouin (Shasu) on Egypt's Eastern Frontier at Tell El-Borg," *Ägypten und Levante* 26 (2016): 293–302.

58 Hoffmeier, 302.

59 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 248; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, 244; Thomas Römer, *The Invention of God* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 39; William Ward and M. F. Martin, "The Balu'a Stele," *ADAJ* 8–9 (1964): 14; Edward F. Wente, "Shekelsh or Shasu?" *JNES* 22 (1963): 168; Leuenberger, *Gott in Bewegung*, 19–20.

60 As per Ward and Martin, "The Balu'a Stele," 13.

61 Daniel Fleming and Brendon C. Benz, "The People of Yahweh" (Paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, San Antonio, 2016).

62 Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 18.

63 Contra Fleming and Benz, "People of Yahweh."

64 Adrom and Müller, "Tetragramm in ägyptischen Quelle," 137, 140; Robert G. Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*; Social World of Biblical Antiquity 6 (Sheffield: Almond, 1988), 27, considered it to be the site of Qurayyah in Arabia; see Chapter Six, below. Ernst Axel Knauf, *Midian: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr*; ADPV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 46.

65 As per Herrmann, "Name Jhw' in den Inschriften von Soleb," 215; and Rainey, "Shasu or Habiru: Who Were the Early Israelites?" 55.

66 Görg, "Jahwe—Ein Toponym?" 10–14; André Caquot, "Le nom du dieu," *Positions luthériennes* 14 (1966): 252.

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Edom.[67] However, the reverse is more likely: Edom is first a personal name, Esau. As Aling and Billington write, "Perhaps what we now accept as place names in these topographical lists were originally something else … Perhaps originally none of the terms indicated by the phrase 'the land of the Shasu of X' were place names, including the name Yahweh."[68]

Any place name can profitably be used as a source for understanding myth.[69] "Toponyms … are first of all signifiers, with the space that corresponds to them as the signified," even when "they do not necessarily recall narratives on the level of collective memory and identity."[70] Toponyms are "an autonomous realm of verbal knowledge."[71] Perhaps the Shasu-Yahweh had once lived at the place called Yahweh, for example;[72] perhaps the terrain simply led people to associate it with Yahweh.[73]

There is no doubt, however, that this place-name is different. We have a place-name with a personal name in it, and here the placename includes an element referring to a spiritual being.[74] The other terms attached to Shasu are not considered individuals or deities by anyone at any point, and Yahweh is always a divine name *other* than in the Shasu texts. So let us consider it a "sacral place-name." "Sacral place-names can be looked upon as a linguistic part of a sacral dimension

67 Caquot, "Le nom du dieu," 253.

68 Charles Aling, and Clyde Billington, "The Name Yahweh in Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts," *Artifax*, Autumn 2009; http://www.biblearchaeology.org/post/2010/03/08/The-Name-Yahweh-in-Egyptian-Hieroglyphic-Texts.aspx.

69 Stefan Brink, "Reading Cult and Mythology in Society and Landscape," in *Nordic Mythologies: Interpretations, Intersections and Institutions*, ed. Timothy R. Tangherlini; The Wildcat Canyon Advanced Seminars on Mythology 1 (Berkeley: North Pinehurst, 2014), 159; Per Vikstrand, "Sacral Place-Names in Scandinavia," *Onoma* 37 (2002): 125, 127; Julie Cruikshank, "Getting the Words Right: Perspectives on Naming and Places in Athapaskan Oral History," *Arctic Anthropology* 27 (1990): 63; Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 12, 23–24.

70 Marilena Papachristophorou, "Narrative Maps, Collective Memory, and Identities," *Narrative Culture* 3 (2016): 71; Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 44, 76–77.

71 James M. Kari, "Some Principles of Alaskan Athabaskan Toponymic Knowledge," in *General and Amerindian Ethnolinguistics*, ed. Mary Ritchie Key and Stanley Newman; Contributions to the Sociology of Language 55 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989), 133; Phillip Segadika, "The Domestication of Landscape through Naming and Symbol Protection among the Batswapong Peoples of Eastern Botswana," in *Landscapes of Clearance: Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Angèle Smith and Amy Gazin-Schwartz; One World Archaeology 57 (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast, 2008), 141; Veikko Anttonen, "Landscapes as Sacroscapes," in *Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Space and Time*, ed. Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide; Studies in the Early Middle Ages 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 19.

72 Cf. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 21.

73 Matthias Egeler, "Icelandic Folklore, Landscape Theory, and Levity," *Retrospective Methods Network Newsletter* 12–13 (2016): 12.

74 See Terry Gunnell, "How Elvish Were the Alfar?," in *Constructing Nations, Reconstructing Myth*, ed. Andrew Wawn; Making the Middle Ages 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 125 for Icelandic examples.

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of the landscape," writes Per Vikstrand.[75] It is unclear if Yahweh the place name refers to a tribe, region, or settlement,[76] but since we are able to localize the Yahweh of the Shasu-Yahweh in Edom-Seir,[77] the name itself is making the same claim about that territory that the variants considered in Chapter One make: at a minimum, the Southland belongs to God.[78] By naming, someone—presumably the Shasu and not the Egyptians—has given the place called "Yahweh" a social function: not simply "where Yahweh was known," but "this place is Yahweh's."[79]

Such place-names with god-names in them exist throughout the world, commonly with hills and groves, and often *not* indicating a place where that god was worshipped.[80] Thus, for the Huichol Indians of the Chihuahuan Desert, the highland of Wirikuta is sacred because it is a place to which the gods and ancestors make pilgrimage;[81] an individual Huichol might never visit Wirikuta in his life.[82] The Batswapong of Eastern Botswana are forbidden to venture into certain sacred regions.[83] In fact, the only time the Shasu are assigned a god, in Papyrus Wilbur from the reign of Rameses V (fl. 1149–1145), it is Hathor, probably indicating a Semitic goddess as it does in Papyrus Sallier 4.[84]

Nor need it mean the god was thought to dwell in this area;[85] it is properly a statement about that place being sacred to the deity. We simply cannot tell what the Shasu meant by the name exactly;[86] as Basso writes of the Apache, "The problem we face is a semiotic one, a barrier to constructing appropriate sense and significance which arises from the fact that all views articulated by Apache people are informed by their experience in a culturally constituted world of objects and events with which most of us are unfamiliar."[87] Moreover, it may not be a statement

75 Vikstrand, "Sacral Place-Names in Scandinavia," 121; also Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 74.

76 Adrom and Müller, "Tetragramm in ägyptischen Quelle," 140.

77 Görg, "Zur Identität der 'Seir-Länder,'" 11.

78 See Segadika, "The Domestication of Landscape through Naming and Symbol Protection among the Batswapong Peoples of Eastern Botswana," 147–48 for similar examples in Botswana.

79 Vikstrand, "Sacral Place-Names in Scandinavia," 122; Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 28; cf. Gene Rice, "Africans and the Origins of the Worship of Yahweh," *Journal of Religious Thought* 50 (1993): 29.

80 Vikstrand, "Sacral Place-Names in Scandinavia," 129–30.

81 Mercedes Otegui Acha, "Wirikuta," in *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible*, ed. David Harmon and Allen D. Putney (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 298.

82 David Lawlor, "Returning to Wirikuta," *European Journal of Ecopsychology* 4 (2013): 23.

83 Segadika, "The Domestication of Landscape through Naming and Symbol Protection among the Batswapong Peoples of Eastern Botswana," 150–51.

84 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 149.

85 Knauf, *Midian*, 47; Egeler, "Icelandic Folklore, Landscape Theory, and Levity," 13.

86 Dell Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 127–28.

87 Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 39; also Egeler, "Icelandic Folklore, Landscape Theory, and Levity," 13.

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about *Shasu* beliefs regarding the sacredness of the place at all: mythic toponyms persist even when the local culture changes. In fact, as Julie Cruikshank notes for Athabaskan toponyms, "Their use, even by cultural 'outsiders' enhances their value."[88]

This so far can be concluded about the place Shasu-Yahweh, but we can also say something about the god Yahweh from these texts. When we look at the contexts of the social processes described in the Egyptian Shasu texts,[89] we can make some further inferences. Yahweh is attached here to people who on the one hand are nomads, societies organized largely based on familial descent groups, face-to-face communities, relatively bound by kinship relations and reciprocal exchange, and strong ties to place. On the other hand, the Shasu are scatterlings and reivers, not unlike the picaresque Apiru with which they are twice linked. Yet we cannot say anything about Yahweh via seeing him as the god of the Shasu, as we have no evidence that he *was* the god of the Shasu. Many scholars have missed this vital point, but the evidence of this chapter is about a people linked to a place linked to a god, not a people linked to a god. All we can conclude is that the connection of that god, Yahweh, to the southern part of modern Israel, southwestern Jordan, and northwestern Saudi Arabia, is firmly planted in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

The Sutu

There is an ethnonym in Akkadian texts that may refer to some of the same people the Egyptians call Shasu. The term Sutu appears in the 19th-century BC hymn of Ishme-Dagan as a blanket term for peoples of the steppes, replacing the earlier term Ditanu.[90] The Sutu then turn up repeatedly in texts from Mari. Mari texts describe them as semi-nomadic, divided into tribes or *ḫibrum*,[91] of which the Rabbeans are most notable (e.g., ARMT 3.12).[92] Eight Habiru are among the Allamutu Sutu tribe in the Late Old Babylonian text MLC1346.[93] Sutu are reivers (ARMT 5.23; 6.57; EA 16; 318), preying upon travelers and even raiding

88 Cruikshank, "Getting the Words Right: Perspectives on Naming and Places in Athapaskan Oral History," 63.

89 Cf. J. Mason, "Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way," *Qualitative Research* 6 (2006): 16.

90 Michael Heltzer, *The Suteans*; Instituto Universitario Orientale Seminario di Studi Asiatici Series Minor 13 (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale Seminario di Studi Asiatici, 1981), 6.

91 This term cannot be equated with "Hebrew" as per Heltzer, 101–4; and Jack M. Sasson, ed., *Judges 1–12,* AB 6D (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 262.

92 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 11, 15, 38. The equation of this name by Heltzer, 55, 109–11 with biblical and Ugaritic Rephaim cannot be accepted.

93 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 59.

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Babylon, Larsa, Ur, and Sippar,[94] mercenaries, especially as guerrilla commandos (ARMT 6.51; 13.106; EA 122.33–37; 123.13–17; 195.25–30; 246.r5–10),[95] looters of antiquities (ARM 6.44),[96] couriers (ARMT 7.110, 133, 165),[97] dragomans (ARM 6.44),[98] slave traders (ARMT 14.77),[99] and slaves (ARMT 8.9, lines1–9).[100] The Hittites used the term Sutu to refer to the non-Indo-European Kaskian tribes who lived in mountainous Pontic Anatolia, an unrelated group.[101]

ARMT 14.78, lines 9–11 speaks of a land of the Sutu named Yahmutu. Sutu are also sometimes identified by location, as the Shasu were, as for example the Sutu of Iaúri (AO 21.382 #11 in the Louvre), possibly the Yair in Bashan of Deut 3:14 and Josh 13:30,[102] Sutu of *Ne-eš-ḫa,* Bit-Sutê, and Nage-Sutê.[103] Sutu are mentioned regularly in Middle Bronze Age texts from Alalakh (e.g., *COS* 2.128), including the *Tale of Idrimi* (*COS* 1.148, lines 10–11; where they are not equated with the Habiru of line 27b),[104] as well as on an inscription from 1800 BC Tell Biʿa (Tuttul) on the Euphrates (side 2, line 5).[105]

These Sutu are probably identical to the Shutu of Egyptian Execration Texts of the 20th–18th centuries BC.[106] E 52 refers to a prince of Upper Shutu named *š-m-w-ỉ-bw*, a name comparable to that of Sumuabia, prince of Byblos, of Amorite origin.[107] E 53 mentions the Lower Shutu Prince *j-k-*[*m-ṯ-*ʿ]*-m-w*, whose name is

94 Heltzer, 25, 60; Dominique Charpin, "The Desert Routes around the Djebel Bishri and the Sutean Nomads According to the Mari Archives," *Al-Rafidan* special issue (2010): 240, 242–43.

95 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 26; Jordi Vidal, ed., "Sutean Warfare in the Amarna Letters," in *Studies on War in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 372 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), 98–99; Anson F. Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), sec. EA 195.

96 Charpin, "The Desert Routes around the Djebel Bishri and the Sutean Nomads According to the Mari Archives," 243.

97 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 28–33.

98 Charpin, "The Desert Routes around the Djebel Bishri and the Sutean Nomads According to the Mari Archives," 243.

99 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 41–44.

100 Heltzer, 45.

101 Vidal, "Sutean Warfare in the Amarna Letters," 95, 95 n.4.

102 Michael Heltzer, "The Yaurians and the Yairites," *RSO* 56 (1982): 18–20.

103 Ran Zadok, "Suteans and Other West Semites during the Latter Half of the Second Millennium BC," *OLP* 16 (1985): 60–61.

104 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 79–81; Gary H. Oller, "The Autobiography of Idrimi" (Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 10, 107, 110–11; Edward Greenstein and David Marcus, "The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi," *JANES* 8 (1976): 67–68.

105 M. Krebernik, *Ausgrabungen in Tall Biʿa, Tuttul*, vol. 2 (Saarbrücken: SDV, 2001), 62.

106 Giveon, "The Shosu of Egyptian Sources and the Exodus," 195; James M. Weinstein, "Egyptian Relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom," *BASOR* 217 (1975): 12–13.

107 G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels: Fondation egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1940), 89–90.

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written in its entirety in E 14.[108] In that place, he is the prince of *ʾ-3-ḥ-b-w-m*, while in E 57 he is prince of the "Shosu." This is key to the identifying the Sutu with the Shasu, an identification first made by Henri Cazelles in 1958.[109] There are only two options to the interpretation of "Shosu" in E 57; the alternative to "Shasu" is to read *s-w-sw*, but that would mean that *s-t-w* had been spelled two different ways in the reference to the same individual.[110] The Shutu are also mentioned in Beni Hasan text 1, pl. 38.2, from Senusret II (19th century BC) as West Semitic nomads.[111]

Geographically, the Execration Text references place the Shutu from the Negev to Transjordan.[112] A *P3-Stw* land is mentioned in the Soleb (11.a.4) and Amara West (47.84) texts discussed above.[113] Although, as we have seen, Akkadian texts give Sutu a wide range, several place them in the Levant. The 15th-century Letter 3 from Taanach mentions a Sutu warrior in Palestine, as does Amarna letter EA 297 from Gezer. EA 195 places Sutu mercenaries at En Shasu.[114]

The Sutu continue to appear in periods after the term Shasu has also gained currency. Palestinian scribes writing letters that appear in the Amarna archives portray the Sutu as benevolent, in contrast to the Apiru, while Egyptian scribes refer to Shasu and Apiru, suggesting Shasu and Sutu were at times the same people.[115] Sutu becomes a general term for West Semitic nomads in Late Bronze Age cuneiform literature, and they are found widely from Elam to Nippur to Dur-Kurigalzu to Palmyra.[116] Wave after wave of "Sutu" attacked Babylon throughout the Middle Babylonian period (1500–1000).[117] They are mentioned in Neo-Hittite texts from the 14th and 13th centuries, including the Annals of Mursili II and

108 Posener, 72.

109 Giveon, *Bedouins Shosou*, 5.

110 Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, 91.

111 Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, 184; Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*; Hannig-Lexica 5 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), s.v. Swtw.

112 Joshua Nielsen. 'Egypt's Interactions with Pastoral Nomads in the Sinai, Negev, and Transjordan'. Unpublished seminar paper, University of Alabama at Birmingham, 2009; Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, 184.

113 Manfred Görg, "Ein weiterer Beleg für die Sutaer," *BN* 21 (1983): 28; Manfred Görg, "Namenstudien VII: S3sw-Beduinen und Sutu-Nomaden," *BN* 11 (1980): 20.

114 Rainey and Notley, "Sacred Bridge," 103.

115 Na'aman, "The Town of Ibirta and the Relationships of the Apiru and the Shosu," 30–31.

116 Khaled Nashef and Wolfgang Röllig, *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes. 5: Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*; Beihefte zum tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften 7.5 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), 237; Zadok, "Suteans and Other West Semites during the Latter Half of the Second Millennium BC," 59; Vidal, "Sutean Warfare in the Amarna Letters," 96; Ran Zadok, "Some Problems in Early Aramean History," in *Ausgewählte Vorträge/XXII. deutscher Orientalistentag*, ed. W.; Röllig, ZDMGSup 6 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985), 81–85.

117 Bernard Newgrosh, *Chronology at the Crossroads : The Late Bronze Age in Western Asia* (Leicester: Matador, 2007), 166.

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of Hattusili III,[118] 13th-century Babylonian Chronicles, and in building inscriptions from Adadnirari I.[119] A.0.89.6 from Assur under Ashurbelkala (1073–1056) refers to "Sutu … who [live] at the foot of Mount [Lebanon]" (lines 5', 10').[120] They are also mentioned in the 11th century by Ashurdan I and Tiglath-Pileser I,[121] and as attacking Babylon intensely in the reign of Adad-apla-iddina.[122] They continue to appear into the reign of Esarhaddon, still desert nomads, mercenaries, and brigands.[123] In the *Poem of Erra* (*COS* 1.113, lines 4.54, 69; 5.27, 8th century) and the "Sun Disk" tablet of Nabu-Apla-Iddina (*COS* 2.135, 9th century), they are stereotypical raiders of Babylon.[124] Shutu, also, appear late, such as in Papyrus Moscow 127 (5.6) from the Third Intermediate Period (1069–664), where they are placed in Seir.[125] This suggests that either not all Sutu were Shasu or vice-versa, or that one or the other term (or both) were applied only by outsiders to the group, and not by the semi-nomads themselves.

The Sutu may be the Bene Sheth of Num 24:17, in third Oracle of Balaam.[126] The "Sons of Sheth" are here placed in parallel with Moab, Edom, and Seir, suggesting a location in southern Transjordan.

What can be learned of Sutu religion is of little help, however. Theophoric personal names include gods Dagan, El, Addu, Ishtar, Marduk, Shamash, and Sin—typical Mesopotamian and Syrian deities.[127] The Sutu built funerary mon-

118 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 84–85.

119 Heltzer, 87; Albert Kirk Grayson et al., *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC),* RIMA 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), sec. A.0.76, line 23.

120 Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, RIMA 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

121 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 88–93; Alan R. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Middle Assyrian and Later Kings," *Iraq* 32 (1970): 168.

122 Newgrosh, *Chronology at the Crossroads*, 312, 465.

123 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 95–97; Sargon II Khorsabad Annals; Andreas Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen: Cuvillier, 1994), sec. Year 12, Rooms 5 and 13, lines 256–58; Year 13, Room 2, line 349; Sennacherib's 1st Campaign Cylinder (BM 113203) ex. 1, line 8; Albert Kirk Grayson, Jamie Novotny, and Grant Frame, *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period. Vol. 3 Pt. 1: The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 32; Vilis I. Lietuvietis, "Sennacherib's First Five Years: Part I of II, Solving the Chronologies of Sennacherib and the Bible," May 19, 2016, 230–31, http://www.academia.edu/36877621/Sennacheribs_First_Five_Years_Part_I_of_II_Solving_the_Chronologies_of_Sennacherib_and_the_Bible_-_Edition_4.0_20_June_2018_.

124 5.27, A. R. George, "The Poem of Erra and Ishum," in *Warfare and Poetry in the Middle East*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 60.

125 Görg, "Ein weiterer Beleg für die Sutaer," 28; Görg, "S3sw-Beduinen und Sutu-Nomaden," 19–20.

126 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 83; John Day, "Cain and the Kenites," in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded*, ed. Gershon Galil, Markham J. Geller, and A. R. Millard, VTSup 130 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 339; Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 208.

127 Heltzer, *The Suteans*, 113–25.

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uments called *humusûm* (FM 8.29.4–12; 8.30.5–31).[128] If the link to Numbers 24 holds, then it might be important that it is the "Sons of Seth" who "first call on the name of Yahweh" in Gen 4:26.[129]

Postscript

In 2008, Thomas Schneider examined the name of the owner of a *Book of the Dead* papyrus from the 18th or 19th Dynasty, first unrolled in 1999.[130] He argues that the name, which is written six times, is *Adūni-rāʿiyu-hu*, equivalent to the Semitic Adoni-roʿe-yah, "My Lord is the Shepherd of Yah."[131] This solves many problems any other reading would present, but produces an unusual name of three nominal elements.[132] He proposes seeing *rāʿiyu-hu* (*r-ʿ3-y-h*) as a single theophoric element, akin to *mlqrt* (Melkart; *mlk-qrt*) in names like *gd-mlqrt* and *kbdmlqrt*.[133] Römer, on the other hand, believes that if *Yah* here is a toponym, if so, then a three-element name is unproblematic.[134] While a Yahwist living in 1300 BC Egypt is a tantalizing possibility, there are too many questions about the name, and at the most it is a single isolated item about which nothing more can be said.

Nothing suggests the Shasu were proto-Israelites; nothing shows they were Yahweh-worshippers. Egyptian records of the "Shasu-Yahweh" do suggest the theology of "Yahweh of the South" was widespread, shared by non-Israelites just as the Hebrew Bible proposes. It will now be critical to establish just what "South" that is.

128 Charpin, "The Desert Routes around the Djebel Bishri and the Sutean Nomads According to the Mari Archives," 243–45.

129 Meindert Dijkstra, "El, the God of Israel—Israel, the People of YHWH," in *Only One God?*, ed. Bob Becking, Meindert Dijkstra, Marjo C. A. Korpel, and Karel J. H. Vriezen, Biblical Seminar 77 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 83.

130 Thomas Schneider, "The First Documented Occurence of the God Yahweh?" *JANER* 7 (2008): 113–14.

131 Schneider, 116–17.

132 Schneider, 118.

133 Schneider, 119.

134 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 38.

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Chapter 5:
Edomite Religion

The poetic variants considered in Chapter One point both generally toward the south and also to Edom or Seir in particular, a region also suggested by the Shasu-Yahweh texts. As Sandra Blakely writes, "It is dangerous to look in history for correlations to myth; it is perhaps worse to fail to do so."[1] For this reason, Thomas Römer suggests that the "southern" element in the origins of Israelite Yahwism derives from pre-Qausite Edomite religion,[2] an idea first raised by Paul Haupt in 1909.[3] This chapter will therefore examine Edomite religion to find antecedents to elements of Israelite Yahwism and evaluate Römer's proposal.

The poetic variants, Kenite Hypothesis, Kuntillet Ajrud, and Shasu-Yahweh point to an early period for the southern elements in early Israelite Yahwism, before the 9th century BC. Unfortunately, the chronology of ancient Edom is debated by archaeologists, and there are in fact two interconnected debates. Before entering into these debates, however, it is specially important to note that although the name "Edom" may derive from the "red" (*adom*) sandstone of southwestern Jordan,[4] the Wadi Arabah constitutes only the *modern* border of Israel and Jordan, not an ancient border between Edom and Judah (the biblical view of the border is the same, as we have seen).[5] Thus, for example, if the pottery of En Hazeva is

1 Sandra Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy in Ancient Greece and Recent Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 192.

2 Thomas Römer, *The Invention of God* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 69–70.

3 Paul Haupt, "Hobab = Schwiegervater," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 12 (1909): 163, 211–13; also S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, International Critical Commentary, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1916), 391.

4 Thomas Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*; Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 107 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1991), 161.

5 Piotr Bienkowski, "The Wadi Arabah: Meanings in a Contested Landscape," in *Crossing the Rift: Resources, Settlements Patterns, and Interaction in the Wadi Arabah*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski and Katharina Galor; Levant Sup 3 (Oxford: Council for British Research in the Levant, 2006), 7–28; Benjamin Porter, "Authority, Polity and Tenuous Elites in Iron Age Edom," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 23 (2004): 377, 381; Laura M. Zucconi, "From the Wilderness of Zin alongside Edom," in *Milk and Honey: Essays on Ancient Israel and the Bible in Appreciation of the Judaic Studies Program at the University of California, San Diego*, ed. Sarah Malena and David Miano (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 241, 252–54; contra Lothar Ruppert, *Genesis*; FzB 3 (Würzburg: Echter, 2005), 72; Joel S. Burnett, "Gods & Kingdoms East of the Jordan," *BAR* (December 2016), 38; and already Salomo J. L. Rapoport, *Erekh Millin* (Prague: Landau, 1852), n.p.

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Edomite and all its material remains indistinguishable from Tawilan, Buseirah, Umm el-Biyara, and Tell el-Kheleifeh,[6] it cannot be considered Judahite simply because its pottery was locally made and the site is located west of the Arabah.[7] In fact, petrographic analysis shows that most Edomite pottery in the Negev was made locally.[8] At Horvat Qitmit, "Edomite" pots, made locally, were found in the same rooms as Judahite pots, and the same is true at Malhata IIIB (7th century).[9] No grounds remains to assume the Edomites were "from outside this region."[10] As we shall see, proper anthropological discussion of ethnicity forms little part of scholarship on the early history of Edom;[11] the general view of archaeologists of Edom is simply that "Ceramics are not a perfect proxy for identifying ethnicity in the archaeological record but one of the best with which researchers have to work."[12]

The first debate concerns the beginnings of Edom. Although, as we have seen in Chapter One, Edom is mentioned in Late Bronze Age texts,[13] throughout the 20th century it was commonly thought that the earliest Iron Age settlements dated to the 9th century, settlement intensified by the late 8th century, and the main sites so far excavated dated between the 8th and 6th centuries.[14] Intensive archaeological survey began in at the end of the 20th century (although most archaeologists are

6 Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla, "The Provenience of 7th-6th Century BCE Cult Vessels from the Iron II Fortress at En Hazeva," *Strata* 34 (2016): 59–60.

7 As per Gunneweg and Balla, "The Provenience of 7th-6th Century BCE Cult Vessels from the Iron II Fortress at En Hazeva," 57, 59, 66; questioned by Zucconi, "From the Wilderness of Zin alongside Edom," 245–48.

8 Juan Manuel Tebes, "World-System Research and Israel's Southern Neighbors (Part II)," *Bible and Interpretation*, 2016, www.bibleinterp.com/opeds/wsrii358002.shtml.

9 Andrew Danielson, "Edom in Judah: A Case Study on 'Edomite' Presence, Interaction, and Identity in the Negev" (Paper presented at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, Boston, 2017); Liora Freud, "Local Production of Edomite Cooking Pots in the Beersheba Valley," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes; Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 295.

10 As per Danielson, "Edom in Judah: A Case Study on 'Edomite' Presence, Interaction, and Identity in the Negev."

11 E.g., Marc Beherec, Thomas E. Levy, and Mohammad Najjar, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology in the Edom Lowlands," in *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*, ed. Thomas Evan Levy et al.; vol. 2; Monumenta Archaeologica 35 (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014), 666–69.

12 Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef, "Conclusion," in *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*, ed. Thomas Evan Levy et al.; vol. 2; Monumenta Archaeologica 35 (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014), 986.

13 Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 228, 318.

14 So, Manfred Lindner et al., "Jabal Al-Qseir," *ADAJ* 40 (1996): 152.

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now in agreement that the surveys of Burton MacDonald cannot be relied upon[15]) and these confirmed this assumption of 9th century origins.

However, Thomas Levy and archaeologists working with him reported radiocarbon dates from the 12th–11th centuries (modal dates 1120 and 1190) at the site of Khirbet en-Nahas (biblical Ir Nahash; M.R. 1901.002).[16] Khirbet en-Nahas, in the Wadi Faynan, was the largest copper smelting site in the entire southern Levant, and Levy's evidence was that production there began in the 11th century, although the fortress on the site radiocarbon dated to 1005–850.[17] Area M, Layer 4 radiocarbon dates are 1200–1000, although Thomas Levy and his team now claim to have an earlier layer, M5a and 5b, with small-scale production, that they are dating to 1200 BC.[18] This dating is based on Bayesian modelling, a controversial method.[19] Area S earliest layer (Layer 4) dates are 1100–800 (Bayesian modelled to 1215–1012), and Area R with its foundry is dated 925–900.[20] The metal workshop

15 Thomas E. Levy and et al., "An Iron Age Landscape in the Edomite Lowlands," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2003): 264; Piotr Bienkowski, "The Beginning of the Iron Age in Edom," *Levant* 24 (1992): 168; Piotr Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom," in *The World of the Aramaeans*, ed. P.M. Michèle Daviau, John William Wevers, and Michael Weigl; vol. 2; JSOTSup 324–326 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 259; Thomas E. Levy, Russell B. Adams, and Adolfo Muniz, "Archaeology and the Shasu Nomads," in *Le-David Maskil: A Birthday Tribute for David Noel Freedman*, ed. Richard Elliott Friedman and William Henry Propp; Biblical and Judaic Studies 9 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 72; contra J. Brett Hill, "Decision Making at the Margins: Settlement Trends, Temporal Scale, and Ecology in the Wadi Al Hasa, West-Central Jordan," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 19 (2000): 223.

16 Thomas E. Levy and et al., "Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom," *Antiquity* 302 (2004): 867, 869, 871, 873; Thomas E. Levy, "New Light on the Rise of the Biblical Kingdom of Edom," *Strata* 22 (2004): 73; Thomas E. Levy, Russell B. Adams, and Rula Shafiq, "The Jabal Hamrat Fidan Project," *Levant* 31 (1999): 305; Thomas E. Levy et al., "High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105 (2008): 16461.

17 Levy et al., "Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom," 872; Erez Ben-Yosef, "Back to Solomon's Era: Results of the First Excavation at 'Slaves' Hill' (Site 34, Timna, Israel)," *BASOR* 376 (2016): 191. If Faynan is Punon, it is noteworthy that the bronze serpent episode is set at this location in Num 21:4–9 (vs. Num 33:4–9); John F.A. Sawyer, "Cain and Hephaestus," *Abr-Nahrain* 24 (1986): 156.

18 Thomas E. Levy et al., "Excavations at Khirbat En-Nahas 2002–2009," in *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*, ed. Thomas Evan Levy et al.; vol. 1; Monumenta Archaeologica 35 (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014), 92, 150–51; Erez Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process: Oscillations in Iron Age Copper Production and Power in Southern Jordan" (Diss., University of California, San Diego, 2010), 325–26.

19 Eveline J. van der Steen and Piotr Bienkowski, "How Old Is the Kingdom of Edom?," *Antiquity Project Gallery* (blog), 2006; defended by Levy in Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas Higham, "How Many Fortresses Do You Need to Write a Preliminary Report?," *Wadi Arabah Project* (blog), May 16, 2005, 11–12, www.wadiarabahproject.man.ac.uk.

20 Thomas E. Levy, Erez Ben-Yosef, and Mohammad Najjar, "New Perspectives on Iron Age Copper Production and Society in the Faynan Region, Jordan," in *Eastern Mediterranean Metallurgy and Metalwork in the Second Millennium BC*, ed. Vasiliki Kassianidou and Giōrgos

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in Area F where the product of raw smelting was made into pure ingots dates from the same period.[21]

Nearby sites also related to metallurgy gave similar radiocarbon dates. Rujm Hamra Ifdan (SGNAS Site 30) is a stratified tower-and-stockade site with earliest ^{14}C dates 10th–9th century.[22] Wadi Khalid Mine 42 gave a modal date of 1187 BC,[23] Wadi Dana Mine of 939.[24] Smelting at Khirbet Faynun, however, gave radiocarbon dates ranging from 890 to 380 BC, and the Barqa al-Hetiye modal date was 723.[25] The site of Khirbet al-Jariya (M. R. 1901.005), which has several buildings including a foundry, gave dates for a slag heap of 876 and 829, charcoal 888–787, and seeds 892–777.[26]

Levy and his colleagues claim that Bayesian modelling of the ^{14}C dates gives them a range of 1092–933,[27] but a look at the raw data even of the Bayesian-modelled dates puts the *origin* of the site between 1075 and 1000, and its end between 1000 and 933.[28] When ^{14}C dates are late, dates such as the 895–825 in Stratum A4, they conveniently attribute this to "later deposits infiltrated into lower stratum,"[29] which is the opposite of usual site formation processes—but this will occupy us in detail later.

Israel Finkelstein and others have noted, moreover, that nearly all the radiocarbon dates support only the 11th century, not the 12th and not the Late Bronze Age,[30] and that Khirbet en-Nahas has no clear stratigraphy.[31] The excavators claim Stratum A3b is 10th-century, radiocarbon dated 1200–850, but their own Bayesian modelled radiocarbon dates for the prior Stratum A4a slag layer are

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Papasavvas (Oxford: Oxbow, 2012), 201, 204; Neil G. Smith and Thomas E. Levy, "The Iron Age Pottery from Khirbet En-Nahas, Jordan," *BASOR* 352 (2008): 51; Levy et al., "Excavations at Khirbat En-Nahas 2002–2009," 168–69, 221, 225.

21 Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process," 257–59.

22 Levy et al., "High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan," 16464.

23 Erez Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant," *Antiquity* 84 (2010): 725.

24 Ben-Yosef et al., 725.

25 Ben-Yosef et al., 728–29.

26 Ben-Yosef et al., 731, 733–34.

27 Ben-Yosef et al., 740; Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process," 367; Erez Ben-Yosef, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy, "New Iron Age Excavations at Copper Production Sites, Mines, and Fortresses in Faynan," in *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*, ed. Thomas Evan Levy et al., vol. 2; Monumenta Archaeologica 35 (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, University of California, 2014), 814.

28 Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant," 742.

29 Thomas E. Levy et al., "Lowland Edom and the High and Low Chronologies," 2005, 138.

30 Israel Finkelstein, "Khirbet En-Nahas, Edom and Biblical History," *TA* 32 (2005): 119–20; J. Brett Hill, *Human Ecology in the Wadi Al-Hasa* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 41.

31 Israel Finkelstein and Lily Singer-Avitz, "Pottery of Edom," *Antiquo Oriente* 6 (2008): 17.

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1000–900 (in their tables; reported as 1130–970 in text).[32] The fortress cannot date to the 10th century, since the waste below it was radiocarbon dated to the 11th–9th centuries, and the stratigraphy of the site shows the fortress cuts into the existing copper works.[33] Finkelstein accepts the presence of 11th century activity (which he confusingly calls Iron I, "1109–913," calling the 12th century LBIII[34]) at Kh. en-Nahas, attested by the presence of clear "Iron I" pottery forms, including Qurayyah Painted Ware (see Chapter Six).[35] Late Bronze is missing, including the 12th century, as is Iron IIA: except for three sherds from Area S, Stratum 2b, all the pottery is either Iron I or Iron IIB, contemporary with the fortress.[36]

Moreover, even if the radiocarbon dates at Khirbet en-Nahas are accepted, even 12th-century, this does not necessarily constitute an "Edom."[37] Of course, as we have seen, the name "Edom" and the god Qaus are found in Egyptian texts, but that does not mean we are dealing with a "Kingdom of Edom" forming in Iron I. Edomite pottery only appears in the 8th–7th century remains; there is not one sherd in the 9th-century material.[38] The only reasonable definition of an "Edom" must be culturally associated with Buseira and the other Southern Jordanian Highland sites of the 8th–7th centuries, and no 10th–9th century sites have been found in that region.

The pottery of Area A Stratum 3 falls into two groups. One group are forms completely unique to Khirbet en-Nahas, including bowls (BL16, 31), kraters (KR6), and jugs (JG9).[39] The other group has parallels: of pithoi, PT5 is a form "spanning the whole Iron II,"[40] PT8 is found at Buseira, PT 10 at Horvat Qitmit, Dhiban, Tel Ira VII, and Samaria IV.[41] Other than unique forms, jugs match Arad XII and juglets Samaria III.[42]

32 Smith and Levy, "The Iron Age Pottery from Khirbet En-Nahas, Jordan," 45, 47–48.

33 Finkelstein, "Khirbet En-Nahas, Edom and Biblical History," 123; Israel Finkelstein and Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of Khirbet En-Nahas," *PEQ* 141 (2009): 207; Levy et al., "High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan," 16461; Juan Manuel Tebes, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom," *DavarLogos* 6.1 (2007): 77.

34 Israel Finkelstein, "The Southern Steppe of the Levant ca. 1050–750 BCE," *PEQ* 146 (2014): 91.

35 Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of Khirbet En-Nahas," 207–11.

36 Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, 209–11, 213; Zeidan Kafafi, "New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan, Jordan," *PEQ* 146 (2014): 274.

37 Larry G. Herr, "Another Dissenting View," *Antiquity Project Gallery* (blog), 2006.

38 Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, "Pottery of Edom," 16.

39 Smith and Levy, "The Iron Age Pottery from Khirbet En-Nahas, Jordan," 67, 72, 74, 77.

40 Smith and Levy, 75.

41 Smith and Levy, 75.

42 Smith and Levy, 76–77.

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These are all Iron II contexts,[43] but rather than allowing these parallels to date Khirbet en-Nahas, Levy and his colleagues use the radiocarbon dates from Khirbet en-Nahas to date these Iron II forms to Iron I at Kh. en-Nahas, proving by this circular reasoning that the Edomite kingdom begins in Iron I.[44] Levy and his colleagues oddly rely on Glueck's dating of Tell el-Kheleifeh and question Pratico's reinterpretation of its remains, accepted by every other archaeologist (see Chapter Six).[45] Every early object found moves the dating of that stratum back to the period that object was produced, in disregard of principles of residuality (see Chapter Six).[46] They transparently refuse to date by diagnostic pottery.[47] They preference radiocarbon dating over ceramic typology in a manner unlike any other Syro-Palestinian excavators.[48] When they do speak of datable pottery forms, rather than focus on diagnostic sherds they calculate percentages of types per loci.[49]

Levy and his colleagues argue only an organized state could have run such a metallurgical operation,[50] and this is supposedly argued from "an anthropological-archaeological approach" but "at the heart of our deep-time technological study is the anthropological concept of … Gourhan in the 1940s"[51] – hardly credible anthropology. Since there is no evidence of Egyptian or other outside control,[52] they say Khirbet en-Nahas must be evidence of the beginnings of the Edomite state and "The formation of Edomite identity was much earlier than" widely believed.[53]

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43 Smith and Levy, 75.

44 Mohammad Najjar, "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century BCE Phobia? Response to Zeidan A. Kafafi, 'New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan/Jordan,' *PEQ* 146 (2014): 263–80," *PEQ* 147, (2015): 251; Thomas E. Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom," in *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jeffrey Szuchman; Oriental Institute Seminars 5 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2009), 155; Jacob E. Dunn, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron and From Whose Hills You May Mine Copper': A Transdisciplinary Approach to the Midianite-Qenite Hypothesis" (Diss., Penn State University, 2015), 11. In so doing, Levy et al. also redate Arad to fit their radiocarbon Edomite dates; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of Khirbet En-Nahas," 212.

45 Levy, Najjar, and Higham, "How Many Fortresses Do You Need to Write a Preliminary Report?," 9.

46 Levy, Najjar, and Higham, 10.

47 Smith and Levy, "The Iron Age Pottery from Khirbet En-Nahas, Jordan," 53.

48 Kafafi, "New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan, Jordan," 277.

49 Smith and Levy, "The Iron Age Pottery from Khirbet En-Nahas, Jordan," 53–54.

50 Levy et al., "High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan," 16460; Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom," 153.

51 Najjar, "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century BCE Phobia?," 247.

52 Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant," 743; Levy, Najjar, and Ben-Yosef, "Conclusion," 982.

53 Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom," 153; Levy, Najjar, and Ben-Yosef, "Conclusion," 982.

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It is not clear, however, that a state would be necessitated by the industrial operations of Khirbet en-Nahas.[54] As Tebes writes, following Bienkowski and van der Steen, "Local corporate groups were equally capable of conducting and maintaining large-scale industrial activities with their infrastructure."[55] Ethnographically, mining and metal production communities of the 18th century BC Alps were locally autonomous.[56] In pre-contact Tasmania, ochre mines were successfully operated by tribal groups.[57] "For models that seek to tie copper mining to state infrastructure, the evidence from Khirbet en-Nahas is problematic."[58]

There was no settlement at Khirbet en-Nahas until at least the 9th century.[59] Of course, there were people working at the site,[60] and the lack of structures does not mean lack of people.[61] But those who would have been employed in the metallurgic industry would have been semi-nomadic,[62] supplying copper to Judah and Moab.[63] As Finkelstein has shown, the fumes and residue of the copper production of Khirbet en-Nahas's magnitude would have sickened anyone living at the site.[64]

Mohammad Najjar claims that this debate has nothing to do with the Bible and an effort to verify its historicity or the historicity of an early kingdom of Edom, but that "all that we say with regard to biblical history is that many of the mines in Faynan were operational during the 12th–9th centuries BCE."[65] Yet Ben-Yosef, Levy, Higham, Najjar, and Tauxe argue that "Faynan was part of the

54 Kafafi, "New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan, Jordan," 277.

55 Tebes, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom," 85.

56 Stephen Shennan, "Producing Copper in the Eastern Alps during the Second Millennium BC," in *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, ed. Arthur Bernard Knapp, Vincent C. Pigott, and Eugenia W. Herbert (London: Routledge, 1998), 201.

57 Vincent C. Pigott, "Prehistoric Copper Mining in the Context of Emerging Community Craft," in *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, ed. Arthur Bernard Knapp, Vincent C. Pigott, and Eugenia W. Herbert (London: Routledge, 1998), 205–25.

58 Tebes, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom," 86.

59 Piotr Bienkowski and Eveline J. van der Steen, "Tribes, Trades and Towns," *BASOR* 323 (2001): 22–23.

60 Israel Finkelstein, "Stratigraphy, Pottery, and Parallels," *Levant* 24 (1992): 171.

61 Levy, Adams, and Muniz, "Archaeology and the Shasu Nomads," 69.

62 Bienkowski and van der Steen, "Tribes, Trades and Towns," 23; Kafafi, "New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan, Jordan," 267; Mario A. S. Martin et al., "Iron IIA Slag-Tempered Pottery in the Negev Highlands, Israel," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (2013): 3778.

63 Finkelstein, "Khirbet En-Nahas, Edom and Biblical History," 120; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, "Pottery of Edom," 19.

64 Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of Khirbet En-Nahas," 214.

65 Najjar, "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century BCE Phobia?," 248.

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lowlands of *biblical* 'Edom,'" and part of the rise of the Edomite polity.[66] They pretty commonly call their opponents "Minimalists."[67] They cite Genesis 36, 1 Kings 14, and 2 Chronicles 12 in their archaeological articles,[68] and assert that biblical statements about Edom "justif[y] a re-examination of some historical issues in relation to the new archaeological excavations in the lowland region."[69] They insist the people of Khirbet en-Nahas were "Edomites"[70] and "Edomite identity,"[71] and "never doubted that Faynan was an essential part of Edom,"[72] while the next moment stating, "Whether this industrial production was 'controlled' by the Edomites or by any other political entity in neighbouring areas, we simply do not know for sure."[73]

For the other major Edomite sites, there is less debate. Most archaeologists concur that Tawilan (Phase 1) was founded in the 7th century,[74] although here, too, Levy and his team have a single radiocarbon date they give as 890–785.[75] Umm al-Biyara (M. R. 1919.9712), just to its west, has one 7th–6th-century phase.[76] The first phase of Buseirah, much further north (but only slightly north of Wadi Faynan), is Stratum 6–5, c.700 BC.[77] In the 7th century, the Edomites also built mountain redoubts at Baja III, Umm al-Ala, Jabal Suffaha, Jabal al-Qseir, Jabal al-Khubtha, Es-Sadeh, el-Sela, Deraj III, and a fort at Khirbet al-Muallaq.[78] There

66 Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant," 744, italics added. Levy et al., "High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan," 16461; Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process," 939.

67 Levy et al., "High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan," 16460; Levy et al., "Lowland Edom and the High and Low Chronologies," 158.

68 Levy et al., "High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating and Historical Biblical Archaeology in Southern Jordan," 16461.

69 Levy et al., "Lowland Edom and the High and Low Chronologies," 158 this is followed by reference to Genesis 36, which as we saw in Chapter One, is usually considered a late text.

70 Najjar, "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century BCE Phobia?," 249.

71 Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom," 153.

72 Najjar, "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century BCE Phobia?," 251.

73 Najjar, 250.

74 Piotr Bienkowski, "The Chronology of Tawilan and the 'Dark Age' of Edom," *Aram* 2 (1990): 35; Crystal-M. Bennett and Piotr Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*; British Academy Monographs in Archaeology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 21; Piotr Bienkowski, "Tawilan," *NEAEHL*, 1447; contra Robert G. Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*; The Social World of Biblical Antiquity 6 (Sheffield: Almond, 1988), 24.

75 Neil G. Smith, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy, "New Perspectives on the Iron Age Edom Steppe and Highlands," in *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan*, ed. Thomas Evan Levy et al.; vol. 1; Monumenta Archaeologica 35 (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014), 284–85.

76 Piotr Bienkowski, ed., *Umm Al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 11, 140.

77 Eilat Mazar, "Edomite Pottery at the End of the Iron Age," *IEJ* 35 (1985): 256, 263.

78 Manfred Lindner et al., "An Iron Age (Edomite) Occupation of Jabal Al-Khubtha (Petra) and Other Discoveries on the 'Mountain of Treachery and Deceit,'" *ADAJ* 41 (1997):

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are no Early Iron Age remains in the entire Wadi al-Hasa.[79] There are no Iron Age remains at all in the Wadi Ramm.[80]

Although one must conclude that Edom was a post-900 BC entity, it is worth elucidating briefly Edomite religion.

The most important site for Edomite religion is Horvat Qitmit, where a three-chambered open-air temple was excavated.[81] This "Complex A" dates to the 7th century, and each of its rooms has a bench perpendicular to the entrance, perhaps an altar or pedestal. There was a low platform at the south end, and a basin at the east end attached to a pit and altar.

The remains from this building included figurines of humans, many of the females pregnant, and animals. In addition to whole figurines, there were many separate molded hands, noses, eyebrows, and hair curls, some nearly life-sized.[82] Most of the human figurines and all the animals are attached to stands.[83] Most of the animals depicted are bulls, but ibex, dogs, roosters, ostriches, and doves also appear.[84] Of human figures, there are a few mold-made females and several solid, handmade males, including smiting warriors, dancers, pipers, and lyre players, as well as large female heads.[85] The large heads do not wear the miters typical of gods, and there are no horns on these figures, so they probably represent worshippers.[86] The only image "unquestionably" a god is the famous three-horned female head.[87]

178, 181; Lindner et al., "Jabal Al-Qseir," 148–49; Manfred Lindner, Suleiman Farajat, and John P. Zeitler, "Es-Sadeh, An Important Edomite-Nabatean Site in Southern Jordan," *ADAJ* 32 (1988): 79; Manfred Lindner et al., "A Lithic—Early Bronze—Iron II (Edomite)—Nabatean Site in Southern Jordan," *ADAJ* 34 (1990): 204, 208; Serena Bazzoni, "L'archeologia di Edom," in *Studi su Edom*, ed. Claudio Saporetti; Geo-Archaeologia, Numero Speciale (Rome: Herder, n.d.), 83; Manfred Lindner, "Von den Bergen Edoms bis ins Wadi Araba," *Natur und Mensch: Jahresmitteilungen der naturhistorischen Gesellschaft Nurnberg* (1998): 26–29.

79 Hill, *Human Ecology in the Wadi Al-Hasa*, 44.

80 Zeidan Kafafi, "Pottery Sherds from Text Excavations and Surveys at Wadi Ramm," in *Des deserts et des hommes: Wadi Ramm*, ed. Saba Fares (Nancy: ADRA, 20013), 79–132.

81 Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, "Qitmit, Horvat," *NEAEHL*, 1230.

82 Beit-Arieh, 1231–32.

83 Pirhiya Beck, "The Cult Objects of Horvat Qitmit (1995)," in *Imagery and Representation: Studies in the Art and Iconography of Ancient Palestine,* Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University Occasional Publications 3 (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2002), 171.

84 Beck, 171; Pirhiya Beck, "Horvat Qitmit Revisited via En Hazeva (1996)," in *Imagery and Representation: Studies in the Art and Iconography of Ancient Palestine,* Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, Occasional Publications 3 (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2002), 449, 453.

85 Beck, "The Cult Objects of Horvat Qitmit (1995)," 175, 180, 193.

86 Beck, 178.

87 Beck, 193.

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A stele was found at Qitmit depicting the horns of a bull or perhaps a crescent moon.[88] Qaus is mentioned in several inscriptions from the site.[89]

En Hazeva (Mezad Hazeva, Ein Husb, Tamar, "City of Palms" of Judges 1;[90] M. R. 1734.0242), across the Arabah from Wadi Faynan, was first occupied in the 10th century (Stratum 8).[91] In the early 8th-century Stratum 7A (formerly Stratum 5), there was what the excavators identified as an outdoor shrine outside the northern wall of the fort (one of the square variety; see below).[92] Regardless of this locus's function, at the end of its use, around 600 BC, all its ceramic and stone altars were gathered, broken, and buried in a sort of favissa or genizah adjacent to the fort.[93] Included as well were seven stands, three larger anthropomorphic stands—one with the image of a goat and a human, 26 incense burners, and 11 chalices—a similar assemblage to that at Horvat Qitmit.[94] A seal depicts two worshippers facing an altar upon which is either a crescent moon or the horns of a bull, and a stele also has a barely discernable image of horns/crescent.[95] There are figurines attached to stands exactly as at Horvat Qitmit. The only difference at En Hazeva is the intentional breaking and burial of the objects. Scholars have interpreted this as cultic reform, an iconoclastic effort to wipe out "idolatry." Although the destruction of the objects and their ritual internment could indicate an active deconstruction of memory,[96] the fact that the broken religious artifacts were cached, rather than discarded, suggests the shrine and its accoutrements continued to be considered sacred.[97]

88 Beck, "Horvat Qitmit Revisited via En Hazeva (1996)," 454–55.

89 Beck, "The Cult Objects of Horvat Qitmit (1995)," 196.

90 Erasmus Gaß, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbuchs in historischer und redaktioneller Perspektive*; ADPV 35 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 30; Charles C. McKinny, "A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah" (Diss., Bar Ilan University, 2016), 84–85.

91 McKinny, "A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah," 82–83.

92 Rudolf Cohen, "The Fortress at En Haseva," *BA* 57 (1994): 208, 211; Siegfried Mittmann, "Ri. 1,16 f und das Siedlungsgebiet der kenitischen Sippe Hobab," *ZDPV* 93 (1977): 229, 233.

93 Gunneweg and Balla, "The Provenience of 7th-6th Century BCE Cult Vessels from the Iron II Fortress at En Hazeva," 61; Rudolf Cohen and Yigal Yisrael, "The Iron Age Fortress at En Haseva," *BA* 58 (1995): 224.

94 Gunneweg and Balla, "The Provenience of 7th-6th Century BCE Cult Vessels from the Iron II Fortress at En Hazeva," 61, 65; Cohen and Yisrael, "The Iron Age Fortress at En Haseva," 224; Tina Haettner Blomquist, *Gates and Gods: Cults in the City Gates of Iron Age Palestine,* CBOTS 46 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1999), 101.

95 Haettner Blomquist, *Gates and Gods*, 103; A similar seal was found at Tawilan; Othmar Keel and Max Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*, vol. 2: *Der Süden* (Cologne: Benziger, 1982), 352.

96 Barbara J. Mills, "Remembering While Forgetting: Depositional Practices and Social Memory at Chaco," in *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, ed. Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker: School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), 82.

97 Joyce Marcus, "Rethinking Ritual," in *The Archaeology of Ritual*, ed. Evangelos Kyriakidis; Cotsen Advanced Seminars 3 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2007), 51.

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Horvat Uza (Khirbet Ghazzah) produced an inscription that reads "I bless you by Qaus" (lines 2–3) and refers to unleavened bread for the altar (lines 5–6).[98] Buseirah also produced a seal with the name Qausgabar from its roofed, white-plastered, acropolis temple.[99] This temple (Building A), built in Assyrian style, was approached by a ramp, then steps led from its courtyard through two plinths to a long narrow narthex.[100] Water was piped from a cistern in the court to a plastered chamber, probably for ablutions.

There is a probable Edomite shrine on Jabal al-Qseir, where steps lead up the mountain to a natural rock cupola 1.5 m high,[101] with a rock cutting from which protrudes a stone with holes cut into it probably for offerings.[102] A similar summit cultic site was found at es-Sela (M. R. 2049.0214) near Buseirah, approached by a lane cut through the rock with carved niches on the sides is a short staircase on a raised rock ending in mid-air.[103] Es-Sela's pottery is 8th–6th century, similar to that of Umm el-Biyara and Tawilan.[104] These summit shrines, and another at FBRS 27 near to the fortress of Ras al-Miyah East that may turn out to be Early Bronze Age,[105] seem different from the Edomite shrines at Horvat Qitmit and Buseirah, although Buseirah is close to Tawilan, and more akin to the peak sanctuaries to be discussed in the next chapter.[106] En Hazeva's outdoor shrine in the settlement is a sort of middle form between the peak sanctuaries and Qitmit.

The worship of Qaus is also attested by over fifty personal names known from inscriptions found at Umm el-Biyara, Tell el-Kheleifeh, Tel Aroer, Beersheba, Tawilan, Maresha, and Horvat Qitmit, as well as inscriptions about Qaus from Buseirah, Horvat Qitmit, Tel Aroer, and Horvat Uza.[107] The mention of Qaus does

98 Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and B. Cresson, "An Edomite Ostracon from Horvat Uza," *TA* 12 (1985): 97, 99; Shmuel Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*; Carta Handbook (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 350, 352–53.

99 Bezalel Porten, "Establishing a Database for the Idumean Ostraca" (Paper presented to the World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 2013).

100 Crystal -M. Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah (Biblical Bozrah)," in *Midian, Moab, and Edom*, ed. John F. A. Sawyer and David J. A. Clines, JSOTSup 24 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1983), 15; Ronny Reich, "Bozra," *NEAEHL*, 265.

101 Cohen and Yisrael, "The Iron Age Fortress at En Haseva," 225, 228.

102 Lindner et al., "Jabal Al-Qseir," 147.

103 Manfred Lindner, "High Noon on Jabal Es-Sela' 1998," *Occident & Orient* (December 1998), 18–19.

104 Bazzoni, "L'archeologia di Edom," 81–82.

105 Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process," 423–25; contra Ben-Yosef, Najjar, and Levy, "New Iron Age Excavations," 835.

106 See Timothy Insoll, "Sacrifice," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Timothy Insoll; Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 160, for discussion of the differences of these two types.

107 Porter, "Authority, Polity and Tenuous Elites in Iron Age Edom," 382–84; Israel Eph'al and Joseph Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996); Bennett and Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*, 67 (Stephanie Dalley chapter). Piotr Bienkowski, "Umm El-Biyara, Tawilan, and Buseirah in Retrospect," *Levant* 22

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increase conspicuously throughout the history of Edom, but this suggests elite sponsorship, not—as argued by Römer—that Qaus replaced Yahweh as Edom's god: Qaus is attested not merely among the elite but among all classes of people,[108] and Qaus could hardly be new in Edom in the 9th century if it is already at that time in the names of Edomite kings.[109] The corpus of Qaus-theophoric names is immense: Qausab, Qausakh, Qauselef, Qausbin, Qausbarak (one from Beersheba), Qausgad, Qausdakar (on an otherwise Hebrew seal), Qaushad, Qauswahab, Qaushanan, Qaustalal, Qausi, Qausyad (from Maresha), Qausdalay, Qausyada' (from Nippur), Qausyahab (from Beersheba), Qausyayap, Qausnaqam (from Arad), Qausyata, Qausyatab, Qausyata' (from Beersheba), Qauskahal, Qauslakan (from Beersheba), Qauslentsar, Qausla'az, Qausla'at, Qausmalak (from Kh. Tannur), Qausnahar (from Beersheba), Qausnaqam (from Maqqedah), Qausner, Qausnatan, Qausadar (from Beersheba), Qausaz, Qaus'ayar, Qausany, Qausqom, Qausrim, Qausraya', and Qausro'ey (from Tell el-Farah South and Tell Jemmeh).[110]

Moreover, there is no pre-Qaus phase of Edom. Even before there was an Edom, the list of Rameses II (1303–1213) used by Rameses III (1217–1155) at Karnak has several Qaus theophoric names, including *Qśrʿ, Qśśpt, Qśnrm,* and *Qśrbn*.[111] There is not a single Edomite name with the theophoric element *yhw*.[112] Because of this absence, Justin Kelly and Nissim Amzallag argue that since Isa 21:11 and Jer 49:11 (and Jer 49;12; Amos 9:11–12) suggest (to them) Edomites worshipped Yahweh, Qaus must be an epithet of Yahweh, "the Qos aspect of Yahweh."[113] This is

(1990): 91 ff; Nelson Glueck, "Some Edomite Pottery from Tell El-Kheleifeh," *BASOR* 188 (1967): 8; Nelson Glueck, "Tell El-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. William Foxwell Albright and Hans Goedicke (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), 226–29; Bruce Zuckerman, "Shading the Difference: A Perspective on Epigraphic Perspectives of the Kheleifeh Jar Impressions," *Maarav* 11 (2004): 233–52; Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Publications of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Section of Humanities (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1997), 387–90. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Midianite-Kenite Hypothesis Revisited and the Origins of Judah," *JSOT* 33 (2008): 150, oddly says that "The cult of the Edomite god Qos/Qaus is first attested directly in the Nabataean period, no earlier than the first century BCE."

108 Porter, "Authority, Polity and Tenuous Elites in Iron Age Edom," 381, 389.

109 John R. Bartlett, "Yahweh and Qaus: A Response to Martin Rose," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 5 (1978): 30.

110 Ada Yardeni, *The Jeselsohn Collection of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2016), 705–14.

111 Ernst Axel Knauf, "Qaus in Agypten," *Göttinger Miszellen* 73 (1984): 34; J. Andrew Dearman, "Edomite Religion," in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*, ed. Diana Vikander Edelman; Archaeology and Biblical Studies 3 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 123 is uncertain of these names.

112 Nadav Naʿaman, "A New Outlook at Kuntillet ʿAjrud and Its Inscriptions," *Maarav* 20 (2013): 49.

113 Justin Kelley, "Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh," *Antiquo Oriente* 7 (2009): 266, 269–70; Nissim Amzallag, "Yahweh, the Canaanite God of Metallurgy?" *JSOT* 33 (2009): 391–92; also Burnett, "Gods & Kingdoms East of the Jordan," 38. As we have seen

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underwritten by an unsupported claim that Qaus was a stormgod and the god of Midian.[114] Knauf argued thoroughly several decades ago for an Arabic etymology for the name Qaus, but the name remains unattested in northern Arabia.[115]

The Karnak list is important for another reason, as well. In List 25 of Rameses III, derived from List 23 of Rameses II, the names appear (7) *Qśrʿ*, (8) *Qśṭiśr*, (11) *Qśśpt*, (13) *Qśnrm*. Item 9 in the list is *Yaʿubʾilu*, or Jacob-El.[116] Israel Knohl has proven a southern, Edomite location for these toponyms, implying a clan of Jacob-El lived in Edom in the 13th century BC.[117]

Funerary practices constitute a subset of religious archaeological data. Archaeologists have long thought them indicative of ideology, but recent studies have found many cases where mortuary data has no relation to the beliefs of the population represented.[118] This is true both of socioeconomic beliefs and of religion.

"Wadi Fidan 40" is a large cemetery in the Wadi Fidan, Jordan, just south of Wadi Faynan, which Levy radiocarbon dates to the 11th and 10th centuries.[119] Most of the ^{14}C dates are to the 10th century,[120] and Bienkowski considers this a 10th-century cemetery.[121] Many of the graves in this cemetery were dolomite cist tombs, pits lined with dolomite stones and capped with sandstone covers smeared with rammed earth (*pisé de terre*).[122] The surface site is sometimes marked with a cairn. Several graves had what the excavators call aniconic and anthropomorphic standing stones, although with an average height of 20 cm they can hardly be called standing stones, and it requires great imagination to see them as even

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in Chapter One, Amzallag's construct veers in tendentious directions, where the Mark of Cain is the Tau on the forehead of Ezekiel 9, copper is a symbol of Yahweh, and Yahweh is identical with not only Qaus but also with Ptah and Ea/Enki; Amzallag, "Yahweh, the Canaanite God of Metallurgy?" 394–402. Fascinatingly, but unrelated, the 8th-century C. E. "Sword of Moses," a Jewish magical text, refers to God several times as "Qaus-Yam"; Yuval Harari, "The Sword of Moses (*Harba de-Moshe*): A New Translation and Introduction," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 7 (2012): 67, 73, 80.

114 Kelley, "Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh," 260–61, 269.

115 Ernst Axel Knauf, "Qaus," *UF* 16 (1984): 94–95.

116 Israel Knohl, "Jacob-El in the Land of Esau and the Roots of Biblical Religion," *VT* 67 (2017): 1–2.

117 Knohl, 3–4.

118 Timothy Taylor, "Death," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Timothy Insoll; Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 95.

119 Levy, "New Light on the Rise of the Biblical Kingdom of Edom," 73; Thomas E. Levy, "Iron Age Burial in the Lowlands of Edom," *ADAJ* 49 (2005): 485.

120 Levy, Ben-Yosef, and Najjar, "New Perspectives on Iron Age Copper Production and Society in the Faynan Region, Jordan," 207.

121 Piotr Bienkowski, "In Search of Edomite Burials," in *Exploring the Narrative: Jerusalem and Jordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, ed. Eveline J. van der Steen, Jeannette Boertien, and Noor Mulder-Hymans, LHB/OTS 583 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 195.

122 Levy, "Iron Age Burial in the Lowlands of Edom," 446–47; Levy, Adams, and Muniz, "Archaeology and the Shasu Nomads," 77; Beherec, Levy, and Najjar, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology in the Edom Lowlands," 679, 683.

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remotely anthropomorphic.[123] Burials include both adults and children, and there are dozens of these tombs in Areas A, B, and C.[124]

Levy originally argued these were graves of Shasu nomads, since grave goods were scarce and did not include pottery.[125] Further excavation showed that grave goods were common, however, including iron blades and jewelry (A.9, A.92), scarabs (A.92), copper jewelry (A. 92, A.371), Amazonite beads and pendants (EDM 88519 and 89196 from Grave 706, EDM 80838 from Grave 246, EDM 88605 from Grave 714), many items decorated with pomegranates (A.59, A.92), fifteen human figurines (e.g., C.703), mother-of-pearl and malachite jewelry (C.706), and, indeed, ceramic bowls (A.345).[126] Nevertheless, Levy and his colleagues continue to speak of the "nomadic population interred at WFD 40."[127]

Ethnographic studies have shown that, "While there may be a bias towards lighter, more portable materials, the range of objects that may be observed in a nomad camp is comparable to that observable in Near Eastern villages."[128] "Many contemporary pastoralists use ceramic pots and storage jars and it is highly likely that in the past, before the widespread availability of metal, glass and plastic, this was even more common,"[129] a fact noted by Frank Hole over forty years ago.[130] "Indeed, the origins of ceramic technologies often occur within such settings."[131] A study of nomadic and sedentary households in northern Sudan found nearly comparable amounts of pottery in both.[132] The only evidentially valid distinguish-

123 Beherec, Levy, and Najjar, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology in the Edom Lowlands," 704–6, Table 9.10, Figs. 9.78–90.

124 Levy, "Iron Age Burial in the Lowlands of Edom," 446, 450.

125 Levy, Adams, and Shafiq, "The Jabal Hamrat Fidan Project," 298–301, 306; Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom," 263; Levy, Adams, and Muniz, "Archaeology and the Shasu Nomads," 86, 89; Levy, Ben-Yosef, and Najjar, "New Perspectives on Iron Age Copper Production and Society in the Faynan Region, Jordan," 207; Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant," 743; Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom," 154; also Tebes, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom," 75.

126 Levy and et al., "An Iron Age Landscape in the Edomite Lowlands," 449, 451, 453, 467, 471–42, 485; Beherec, Levy, and Najjar, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology in the Edom Lowlands," 687–89, 695–97. It is difficult to see in this how "Material goods were not very impressive"; Tebes, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom," 75.

127 Levy, Najjar, and Ben-Yosef, "Conclusion," 987–88, 992.

128 Roger Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology*; New Studies in Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 69.

129 Cribb, 66.

130 Cribb, 75.

131 Jelmer W. Eerkens, "Nomadic Potters," in *The Archaeology of Mobility: Old World and New World Nomadism*, ed. Hans Barnard and Willeke Wendrich; Cotsen Advanced Seminar Series 4 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2008), 310.

132 Rebecca J. Bradley, *Nomads in the Archaeological Record: Case Studies in the Northern Provinces of the Sudan*; Meroitica 13 (Berlin: Akademie, 1992), 39, 88, 106.

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ing feature of the ceramic assemblages of nomadic societies is the size of pots: they tend to have only the largest and smallest.[133] Sedentary populations also have more glass and metal objects.[134]

Of course, those buried here *could* have been nomads; it is just that the assemblage of grave goods does not indicate one way or another. Bienkowski takes the form of the graves—cist tombs and cairnfields—to be indicative of nomad burials, tombs of pastoralists in contrast to the Edomite rock-cut tombs in the hills and rock-covered pit tombs and in contrast to the Midianite mastabas at Tell el-Kheleifeh (see Chapter Six).[135] The form of the Wadi Fidan 40 graves, however, is nearly identical to some cist tombs in southern Cumbria (North Morecambe Bay) belonging to the settled Neolithic Bell-Beaker Culture *and* to cist tombs in post-Roman West Cumbria.[136]

Moreover, Steve Rosen has argued that the Negev settlement discussed above "cannot be described as either nomadic or pastoral."[137] The Late Bronze Age shows no ephemeral campsites, rock shelters with dung layers, or camps, and the Iron Age horizon consists of forts, homesteads with cisterns, and terrace agriculture[138]—all of which is true of Transjordanian Edom, as well.

Many of the glass beads found in Wadi Fidan 40 graves were green, which in the Ancient Near East was only produced by an admixture of lead, copper, or iron, thus suggesting a connection between the burials and the metallurgic industry.[139] The high content of lead and copper in the bones from Wadi Fidan 40 supports this conclusion.[140] Since we have established that the metalworkers of Khirbet en-Nahas did not live on the site,[141] Wadi Fidan 40 may indeed be the graves of those workers, who could have been Shasu—but this possibility is not based on the evidence Levy uses. And again, it should be noted that most of the Wadi Fidan 40 graves are Iron II.[142]

133 Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology*, 78.

134 Bradley, *Nomads in the Archaeological Record*, 106, 112–15.

135 Bienkowski, "In Search of Edomite Burials," 209.

136 D. Hodgkinson and P.R. Cundill, eds., *The Lowland Wetlands of Cumbria*; North West Wetlands Survey (Lancaster: Lancaster University Archaeological Unit, 2000), 43, 49, 75–76. The entire equation of nomadic with pastoralist is too simplistic. There are nomadic pastoralists, as at Əlicanlı, but also more sedentary pastoralists as in the Shur Dasht. There are also nomadic agricultural farmers, farmers such as the Lurs; Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology*, 17.

137 Steven A. Rosen, *Revolutions in the Desert: The Rise of Mobile Pastoralism in the Negev and the Arid Zones of the Southern Levant*, First edition (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 218.

138 Rosen, 218–19.

139 James D. Muhly, "Mining and Metalwork in Ancient Western Asia," *CANE*, 1510.

140 Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of Khirbet En-Nahas," 214.

141 Finkelstein, "The Southern Steppe of the Levant ca. 1050–750 BCE," 93.

142 Bienkowski, "In Search of Edomite Burials," 195.

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There are also a number of other burial sites that Levy considers "Pre-Edomite," Iron I or IIA: Wadi al-Ghuwaybe 24 cemetery, Wadi al-Ghuwaybe 59 cairnfield (Bienkowski questions the dating here),[143] Wadi al-Jariya 515 cemetery, Wadi al-Jariya 521 cemetery, Wadi al-Jariya 522 cairnfield, Wadi al-Jariya 527 cairnfield, and Wadi al-Jariya 531 cairnfield.[144] There are three Iron I barrow tombs at "Ayl to Ras en-Naqb Archaeological Survey Site 88."[145]

In conclusion, the start of occupation in Edom remains unclear. The copper industry began at least as early as the 10th century and possibly in the 11th or even, on a small, household scale, the 12th.[146] Settlement in Edom is later, in the 9th century as has been long held. The name Edom is early, but there is nothing to prove an association of the name belongs with the copper works. The god Qaus is also early, and clearly belongs with both the name Edom and the Iron II settlement, but in the earlier period it cannot be securely tied to the copper works, either. The metallurgical industry seems to have been operated largely by semi-nomadic peoples. They may or may not be the same group buried in Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery. We will return to this in Chapter Seven.

As we saw in Chapter One, the poetic variants are as indicative of the southernmost part of modern Israel as they are of southern (Trans)Jordan. As also discussed above, the Arabah valley did not constitute an ancient border between Edom (state or culture) and Israel or Judah. If such a border can be postulated, it runs through the Negev from East to West.

There are no Late Bronze or Early Iron Age sites in the Negev highlands between Beersheba and the Yotvata-Timna area.[147] Rudolf Cohen argued that the Edom-Israel (and Judah) border initially ran through the middle of the Negev near to modern Sede Boqer—from Ketef Shivta to Har Boqer to Horvat Ritma to Horvat Haluqim to Atar HaRoa—but with Edom's expanding power, it moved north to Tel Esdar, Khirbet Abu Tulul/Telaim, and Aroer in the 9th century.[148] The former "line" depends on identifying a set of "Negev fortresses," Cohen's initial conclusion is still held by Haiman.[149] Cohen divided these "fortresses" into three types: oval, rectangular, and square. Oval fortresses he identified at

143 Bienkowski, 204.

144 Levy and et al., "An Iron Age Landscape in the Edomite Lowlands," 251–52, 255; Bienkowski, "In Search of Edomite Burials," 204.

145 Bienkowski, "In Search of Edomite Burials," 208.

146 Martin et al., "Iron IIA Slag-Tempered Pottery in the Negev Highlands, Israel," 3777.

147 Uzi Avner, "Eilat Region," *NEAEHL,* 5.107.

148 Rudolf Cohen, *Map of Sede Boqer East*; Archaeological Survey of Israel 168 (Jerusalem: Archaeological Survey of Israel, 1981), ixi; Rudolf Cohen, *Map of Sede Boqer West*; Archaeological Survey of Israel 167 (Jerusalem: Archaeological Survey of Israel, 1985), xii.

149 Mordechai Haiman, "Geopolitical Aspects of the Negev Desert in the 11th-10th Centuries BCE," in *The Ancient Near East in the 12th-10th Centuries BCE*, ed. Gershon Galil et al., AOAT 392 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012), 205.

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Horvat Haluqim (M. R. 1310.0332), Atar HaRoa (M. R. 1361.0352), Mezad Nahal Horsha (M. R. 1048.0142), and Horvat Ketef Shivta (1185.0347).[150] Rectangular fortresses were at Mezad Har Saad (M. R. 1309.0131), Mezad Mishor HaRuah (Sahil el-Hawa; M. R. 1318.0077, 380m^2, with residences, dating later than the others), and Horvat Har Boqer (M. R. 1257.0332).[151] Horvat Mesorah (M. R. 1221. 1365), Horvat Ritma (Kh. Abu Reteimat M. R. 1283.0347), Mezad Nahal Zena (M. R. 1262.0171), Nahal Raviv (M. R. 1075.0280), and Horvat Rahba (Kh. Umm et-Tin/Kh. Ardiha/Telem/Telaim;[152] M. R. 1526.0509, casemate-style) were square fortresses.[153] Some of these sites have been excavated, including Horvat Ritma, whose Phase III has pottery comparable to Hazor X–VIII, Tel Esdar III–II, Arad XII–XI, Beersheba V–IV, and Megiddo V, 11th–9th centuries.[154] The fortress in Stratum 2 of Horvat Haluqim produced pottery equivalent to Megiddo VA and 10th-century Ashdod and Tel Esdar.[155] The Iron Age casemate fortress at Beerotayim (Ezuz, Bir Birein; probably Berain of *P. Nessana 82*.1, 8), on the road from Ein el-Qudeirat, may also belong to this set.[156] Radiocarbon dates at some of these have given dates 1025–800.[157]

But it is important to note that, on the one hand, some of these sites may not be fortresses at all.[158] There are too many of them in proximity for border fortresses—some a mere five kilometers apart—and yet there is a large gap in the "line" from Beersheba to Kadesh-Barnea (Ein el-Qudeirat), a strategic zone.[159] These sites' arrangement cannot be explained by any strategic logic.[160] Some of the

150 Rudolf Cohen, "Negev: Middle Bronze Age I and Iron Age II Sites in the Negev Hills," *NEAEHL,* 1126, 1129.

151 Cohen, 1126; Sarah M. Harvey, "The Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom" (Diss., University of Michigan, 1999), 119.

152 McKinny, "A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah," 126.

153 Rudolf Cohen, "Iron Age Fortresses in the Central Negev," *BASOR* 236 (1979): 70; n.a., "Mezad Nahal Zena," *HA* 69–71 (1979): 23; Harvey, "The Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 125.

154 Ze'ev Meshel, "Horvat Ritma," *TA* 4 (1977): 110, 116, 119–25.

155 Rudolf Cohen, "Excavations and Horvat Haluqim," *Atiqot* 11 (1976): 42, 44.

156 C. Leonard Wooley, "The Desert of the Wanderings," *PEQ* 46 (1914): 63; n. a., "Beerotayim, Bir Birein," *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land,* ed. Avraham Negev and Shimon Gibson, (New York: Continuum, 2001), 72; Harvey, "The Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 126.

157 Haiman, "Geopolitical Aspects of the Negev Desert in the 11th-10th Centuries BCE," 204.

158 Ruth Shahack-Gross and Israel Finkelstein, "Settlement Oscillations in the Negev Highlands Revisited," *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 259.

159 Israel Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages*; Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 105; Israel Finkelstein, "The Iron Age Fortresses of the Negev Highlands," *TA* 11 (1984): 190–91.

160 Zeev Meshel, "The Aharoni Fortress near Quseima and the Israelite Fortresses in the Negev," *BASOR* 294 (1994): 58; Avraham Faust, "The Negev Fortresses in Context," *JAOS* 126 (2006): 142.

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so-called fortresses are merely isolated houses (e.g., Borot Loz).[161] Radiocarbon dating of Atar HaRoa and Nahal Boqeq pushes the dating of these sites into the 9th century, far later than Cohen had believed.[162]

On the other hand, we do not know who built these sites.[163] Finkelstein and Rothenberg maintained it was Amalekites, although the term has no extrabiblical attestation.[164] Naʿaman held the sites were Edomite. Nevertheless, the pottery remains are well-established Israelite and Judean forms. The architecture is typical Israelite architecture.[165] Noting that the "fortresses" were established just at the time of the decline of the chiefdom centered on Tel Masos (see Chapter Seven), Avraham Faust has argued that the Judahite state intentionally populated the Negev with these sites—with a population both Israelite and non-Israelite—to take advantage of Arabian and metallurgic trade.[166] The presence of cedar, Cypro-Phoenician pottery, and camel bones at these sites, the evidence of manured soil around the "fortresses," and the fact that they are often not located near good water sources where one would naturally settle, supports this reconstruction.[167] Although only a few have actual villages—Atar HaRoa, Horvat Haluqim, Ramat Matred 159 (1208.0182), Ramat Matred 108 (1205.0190), and Horvat Har Boqer (M. R. 1257.0332),[168] they could easily be state-sponsored colonies.

Found at most of these sites was a ceramic style known as Negbite pottery.[169] It is a handmade, medium-baked, dark reddish-brown, wet-smoothed ware built up on coiled or woven straw mats, with ledge- and loop-handles.[170] Nelson Glueck first argued that this pottery was characteristic of Negev nomads, and Tebes,

161 Finkelstein, "The Iron Age Fortresses of the Negev Highlands," 191.

162 Shahack-Gross and Finkelstein, "Settlement Oscillations in the Negev Highlands Revisited," 256.

163 Meshel, "The Aharoni Fortress near Quseima and the Israelite Fortresses in the Negev," 61.

164 Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe*, 103.

165 Haiman, "Geopolitical Aspects of the Negev Desert in the 11th-10th Centuries BCE," 204.

166 Faust, "The Negev Fortresses in Context," 149–51.

167 Faust, 151, 151 n.26; Mordechai Haiman, "Iron Age II Sites of the Western Negev Highlands," *IEJ* 44 (1994): 47, 58; Mordechai Haiman, "Pastoralism and Agriculture in the Negev in the Iron Age II," in *On the Fringe of Society: Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives on Pastoral and Agricultural Societies*, ed. Benjamin A. Saidel and E. J. van der Steen; BAR International Series 1657 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 57; Hendrik J. Bruins, "Runoff Terraces in the Negev Highlands during the Iron Age," in *On the Fringe of Society: Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives on Pastoral and Agricultural Societies*, ed. Benjamin A. Saidel and E. J. van der Steen; BAR International Series 1657 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 40–41.

168 Haiman, "Iron Age II Sites of the Western Negev Highlands," 45; Cohen, "Negev: Middle Bronze Age I and Iron Age II Sites in the Negev Hills," 1126.

169 Cohen, "Excavations and Horvat Haluqim," 44; n.a., "Mezad Nahal Zena," 23.

170 Nelson Glueck, "Iron II Kenite and Edomite Pottery," *Perspective: A Journal of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary* 12 (1971): 45.

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Meshel, and others have followed this assertion.[171] Meshel and others also argue that the Negbite pottery indicates the 11th century rather than the 9th for the occupation of the fortresses.[172]

Neither argument can be maintained, as Negbite pottery occurs as early as the Early Bronze Age (3500–2000 BC) and as late as the Early Islamic period.[173] Negbite pottery has no typological pattern of development over time.[174] Harvey argues that since this simple pottery type is so long-lasting, alongside multiple changing wheel-made styles, its makers might be semi-nomadic pastoralists.[175] Yet no evidence from ethnographic analogy or anything else is provided to support this assertion. A petrographic analysis of slag-tempered Negbite pottery of Iron II from Atar HaRoa, Horvat Ritma, Ramat Matred, and Har Saad, however, found it had all been manufactured significantly further south of the "fortresses," in the "deep Negev."[176] Given the settlement history of that region, Finkelstein and his colleagues conclude it was coming from either Wadi Faynan or Timna.[177] We shall return to this in Chapter Seven.

Also included in this cluster of sites should be the ruins probably to be identified with Kadesh-Barnea,[178] including Ein el-Qudeirat (Kadesh-Barnea/Wadi el-Ein/En-Mishpat, M. R. 0949.0064), Ein Qadeis (possibly Kadesh "not Barnea" or Hazar-Addar, M. R. 1034.0002),[179] and Ein el-Quseima (Karka[a]).

Ein el-Qudeirat was first settled in the 10th century,[180] Stratum 4c or the "Pre-Fortress Phase," followed in the same century by the Stratum 4b-4a fortress (formerly Stratum III), which matches the "Oval" type of the Negev "fortresses,"

171 Glueck, 46; Meshel, "The Aharoni Fortress near Quseima and the Israelite Fortresses in the Negev," 59; Zeev Meshel, "Horvat Ritma," *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977): 133; Tebes, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom," 83.

172 Meshel, "Horvat Ritma," 132.

173 Mordechai Haiman and Yuval Goren, "Negbite Pottery," in *Pastoralism in the Levant: Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Ofer Bar-Yosef and Anatoly M. Khazanov; Monographs in World Archaeology 10 (Madison, Wisc.: Prehistory Press, 1992), 145; Uzi Avner, "Studies in the Material and Spiritual Culture of the Negev and Sinai Populations, During the 6th-3rd Millennia" (Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002), 111; Harvey, "The Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 8.

174 David Eitam, "The Settlement of Nomadic Tribes in the Negeb Highlands during the 11th Century B. C.," in *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1500–1000 B. C.)*, ed. Michael Heltzer and Edouard Lipiński; OLA 23 (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 324.

175 Harvey, "The Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 87.

176 Martin et al., "Iron IIA Slag-Tempered Pottery in the Negev Highlands, Israel," 3779–83.

177 Martin et al., 3787–88.

178 McKinny, "A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah," 53.

179 Menashe Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys: The Route of the Exodus*; rev. ed (Los Angeles: Ridgefield, 1983), 335.

180 Bruins, "Runoff Terraces in the Negev Highlands during the Iron Age," 39 argues for the 11th.

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and was accompanied by Egyptian artifacts and handmade Negbite Ware.[181] After an abandonment, another fortress was built in Stratum 3 in the mid-8th century on the rectangular plan,[182] and its remains in Area B yielded pottery identical to the "Negev fortresses" Horvat Rahba, Nahal Zena, Mezad Nahal Horsha, Horvat Haluqim, Atar HaRoa, and Horvat Ketef Shivta, Negbite pottery, a unique black-painted ware, and variations of Judahite wheeled forms.[183] The presence of the latter, along with Hebrew inscriptions from Strata 4 and 3—including two Yehud impressions—supports Cohen's argument that this cluster is not Edomite.[184]

600m south of Ein el-Qudeirat was another oval, 9th-century fortress, at Mezudat Wadi el-Qudeirat.[185] Another Iron II oval fortress is nearby at Ein Qadeis (M. R. 1034.0002), where Negbite pottery was found.[186] Aharoni dated this fortress earlier than the one at Ein el-Qudeirat,[187] although there is no evidence to support this.[188]

The third major site in this vicinity is tiny Ein Quseima (M. R. 0895.0089), probably a temporary site,[189] and its nearby "Aharoni Fortress" (M. R. 0871.0120), both dated to the early 10th century.[190] The Aharoni Fortress fits the design of the oval "Negev Fortresses," of which it is the largest example and the farthest west.[191]

There are also many outlying sites around Ein el-Qudeirat—campsites on Jebel el-Ain and Jebel el-Qudeirat north of Kadesh-Barnea, and buildings and pens in the Wadis el-Qudeirat (south of Kadesh-Barnea), el-Halufi, Umm Hashim, and

181 Rudolf Cohen and Hannah Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at Kadesh Barnes (Tell El-Qudeirat) 1976–1982. Pt. 2: Plates, Plans and Sections*; IAA Reports 34.2 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2007), 1.7–9; Rudolf Cohen, "Kadesh-Barnea Israelite Fortress," *NEAEHL*, 844.

182 David Ussishkin, "The Rectangular Fortress at Kadesh-Barnea," *IEJ* 45 (1995): 119.

183 Cohen and Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at Kadesh Barnes (Tell El-Qudeirat) 1976–1982. Pt. 2*, 1.9, 188, 131–35, 153; Cohen, "Kadesh-Barnea Israelite Fortress," 845; Cohen, "Negev: Middle Bronze Age I and Iron Age II Sites in the Negev Hills," 1133.

184 Cohen and Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at Kadesh Barnes (Tell El-Qudeirat) 1976–1982. Pt. 2*, 246, 253.

185 McKinny, "A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah," 53; Cohen and Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at Kadesh Barnes (Tell El-Qudeirat) 1976–1982. Pt. 2*, 106–7.

186 McKinny, "A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah," 54.

187 Yohanan Aharoni, "Kadesh-Barnea and Mount Sinai," in *God's Wilderness*, ed. Beno Rothenberg (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961), 137–38.

188 Detlef Jericke, *Die Landnahme im Negev: Protoisraelitische Gruppen im süden Palästinas*; ADPV 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 103.

189 Haiman, "Pastoralism and Agriculture in the Negev in the Iron Age II," 58–59.

190 Jericke, *Die Landnahme im Negev*, 82; Meshel, "The Aharoni Fortress near Quseima and the Israelite Fortresses in the Negev," 53, 59.

191 Meshel, "The Aharoni Fortress near Quseima and the Israelite Fortresses in the Negev," 51; Cohen, "Kadesh-Barnea Israelite Fortress," 1127; McKinny, "A Historical Geography of the Administrative Division of Judah," 55.

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el-Asli.[192] Ein Muweileh (M. R. 0855.0100), possibly ancient Azmon, has no Late Bronze or Iron Age remains.[193]

There is no evidence of religious activity at these sites, however, except for Kuntillet Ajrud which sits in their midst. Aside from Kuntillet Ajrud, there are no structures likely to be shrines and no cultic remains. Moreover, as the most likely explanation for this set of sites is intentional settlement of Israelites by the state administrative apparatus to the north, we would only be looking at Israelite religion, as indeed we are at Kuntillet Ajrud.

There are also assorted other sites in the Negev desert that may or may not belong with the Negev "fortresses." There is a 9th-century village on southern Har Karkom,[194] which is not a mountain at all as it is only 300m above the surrounding terrain.[195] Nearby Beer Karkom Site 173a had a small shrine on the west side of the site, which included a single menhir and stone table with a large cup-mark.[196] We will return to define and discuss "menhirs" in the following chapter, and stone altars with depressions like this one are surely indicative of libations.[197] However, it is not possible to identify who lived and worshipped at this site, and the best guess would be Israelites.

What we have gathered about Edomite religion is too late to account for the southern elements in Yahwism, however. It is too late for Kuntillet Ajrud's Teman, too late for the Yahweh of the Shasu, and too late for the poetic variants of Chapter One. The other sites of the Negev are also Iron II, but Israelite and tell us nothing about local religion. It is not to Edom, but to Midian that our search must turn.

192 Cohen and Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations at Kadesh Barnes (Tell El-Qudeirat) 1976–1982. Pt. 2*, 311–47 (Mordechai Haiman chapter).

193 Jericke, *Die Landnahme im Negev*; contra Keel and Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel. 2*, *2: Der Süden*:178.

194 Emmanuel Anati, *Is Har Karkom the Biblical Mount Sinai?* (Saint-Jean-de-Braye: Atelier, 2013), 22.

195 Yadin Roman, "The Price of Fame," *Eretz*, October 1999, 20–21.

196 Emmanuel Anati and Federico Maillard, *Map of Beer Karkom*; Archaeological Survey of Israel 226 (Jerusalem: Archaeological Survey of Israel, 2010), 29.

197 Kate Spencer, "A Contextual Approach to Ancient Egyptian Domestic Cult," in *Cult in Context: Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology*, ed. David A. Barrowclough and Caroline Malone (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 289.

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Chapter 6:
Midianite Religion

They loved stone cairns; they built them under the ground but close to the sky.
Dr. Who, "Eaters of Light"

Thomas Römer suggested that the "southern" element in the origins of Israelite Yahwism derives from pre-Qausite Edomite religion,[1] an idea first raised by Paul Haupt in 1909.[2] We have seen, however, there is no pre-Qaus stage of Edomite religion, the religion of Qaus has little resemblance to Yahwism, and no Edom to speak of existed in the critical 13th–10th centuries BC. What is more, we are just as much interested in northwestern Arabia as we are in Edom. It is on Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Midianite religion that we must now focus.[3]

Since, however, early Midianite religion must be understood exclusively from archaeology, the archaeology of religion needs to be elucidated. As I have argued elsewhere, archaeology is keenly poised to explore religion as it is devoted to investigating mental representations pertaining to artifacts and structures, representations that are tied up with the practices for which those artifacts and structures were used.[4] On the other hand, archaeologists have been undoubtedly naïve about religion. They have proceeded as if religion was a phenomenon easily understood, without bothering to work on defining it. Most archaeologists have gone from a pre-1970s tendency to ascribe all sorts of phenomena to religion to a general aversion to the term over the past few decades, although Syro-Palestinian archaeologists by and large never moved beyond the former stage. So some critical discussion of religion in archaeology is incumbent at this point.

I am well aware of the old adage, "There is no religion: only social action." But as Jeppe Jensen points out, that is equivalent to saying, "There are no chairs: only sums of molecules."[5] Even if a given culture has no word for "religion," like

1 Thomas Römer, *The Invention of God* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 69–70.

2 Paul Haupt, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 12 (1909): 163, 211–13; also S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1916), 391.

3 My use of the term Midian implies no borders or citizenship; it is descriptive of a geographic region defined herein. Cf. Chawqi Abu Khalil, *Atlas du Coran* (Paris: Sana, 2010), fig. 12.

4 Robert D. Miller II, "Shamanism and Totemism in Early Israel," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 100 (2014): 21–22.

5 Jeppe S. Jensen, "The Comparative Study of Religion," *Numen* 48 (2001): 247.

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"economics" or "language," these things are recognizable by any human who has been informed about them.[6] Then, as Grahame Clarke wrote decades ago, "Since religion expresses itself through ritual acts and observances which involve material things, it follows that to this extent at least archaeology is capable of throwing light upon it."[7]

The archaeology of religion is a subset of cognitive archaeology. It depends on the fact that cultural objects are meaningful, but that meaning is not encoded or read the way language is.[8] As Susan Kus writes, religious artifacts and structures are "material metaphors" for ancient inhabitants' reflective thought on belief.[9]

In a case like Midian where we have no texts, the material culture must be interpreted by ethnographic analogy. Ethnographic analogy has been the mainstay of anthropological archaeology for decades, and its detractors have been vocal for as long.[10] Franz Boas warned us against nomothetic laws drawn from ethnographic analogy as early as 1896.[11] However, if we at all maintain that there are *causes* for elements in the archaeological record, then ethnographic analogy is logically defensible.[12] *If* analogies are broadly based, clusters of correspondence rather than isolated parallels; *if* we use primary sources for ethnographic analogies rather than secondary treatments; and *if* we map the entire source culture onto the subject culture and admit where there are non-correspondences, then ethnographic analogy is an invaluable heuristic tool.[13] Ethnographic analogy never *proves*; it suggests postulates.[14]

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6 Mark Aldenderfer, "Envisioning a Pragmatic Approach to the Archaeology of Religion," in *Beyond Belief: The Archaeology of Religion and Ritual*, ed. Yorke M. Rowan; Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 21 (Hoboken: American Anthropological Association, 2012), 23–36.

7 Grahame Clark, *Archaeology and Society*; 3rd ed (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), 232.

8 Alison Wylie, *Thinking from Things* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 128–29.

9 Susan Kus, "Matters of Belief," in *Beyond Belief: The Archaeology of Religion and Ritual*; Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 21 (Hoboken: American Anthropological Association, 2012), 13.

10 Wylie, *Thinking from Things*, 136.

11 Franz Boas, "The Limits of the Comparative Method of Anthropology" (1896), in *Race, Language, and Culture* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 275–77.

12 Wylie, *Thinking from Things*, 148.

13 Wylie, 150; Timothy Insoll, *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 84, 89; Aldenderfer, "Envisioning a Pragmatic Approach to the Archaeology of Religion," 27; David S. Whitley, "Rock Art, Religion, and Ritual," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Timothy Insoll; Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 318–19; Marc Verhoeven, "The Many Dimensions of Ritual," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Timothy Insoll; Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 127.

14 Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*; 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 15, 159.

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The analogical method employed in this study is large-scale, variable-oriented, employing systematic (rather than intensive) study of a few variables over as many cases as possible.[15] I am pursuing a strong association in a worldwide sample of cultures, historic and prehistoric.[16]

A way to approach broad-based clusters of correspondence theoretically is via the notion of "Enchainment," defined as the "relationship of humans and non-humans in networks mediated by materiality."[17] Another term being used currently by anthropologists is "Meshworks," people and objects connected by "tangled lines that move."[18] These notions dovetail well with the image used by Ancient Near Eastern scholars of the "constellation," a term used by Jan Assmann for texts, images, and rituals that give representation to an idea or "icon" that is an array of deities who are constituted as persons and act in relationship to one another.[19] If we go behind Assmann to Max Weber and Walter Benjamin's use of the term, "constellation" expresses an idea "instantiated by the particulars to which it applies in virtue of criteria that, once settled, could be put in the form of a definition."[20] Constellated folkloristic integers represented by physical structures and artifacts of all sorts are "exhibited in the exemplary particular that enable one to employ the idea [here, 'Midianite'] to illuminate other particulars."[21] In other words, all the archaeological realia of religion are part of an "enchained" meshwork. Methodologically, this means beginning with objects and structures that are most obviously religious, contextualizing these, and then moving on to consider all associated places and artifacts.[22]

The term Midian does not appear in Ancient Near Eastern texts outside of the Bible. Classical (Ptolemy, *Geography,* 7.2, 27; Josephus *Ant.* 2.11.2) and Arabic

15 Michael Ernest Smith and Peter Peregrine, "Approaches to Comparative Analysis in Archaeology," in *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies*, ed. Michael Ernest Smith (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.

16 Smith and Peregrine, 9.

17 Rosemary A. Joyce, "Practice in and as Deposition," in *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, ed. Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker; School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), 37; Kus, "Matters of Belief," 14.

18 Margaret Brown Vega, "Weaving Together Evil Airs, Sacred Mountaintops, and War," in *Tracing the Relational: The Archaeology of Worlds, Spirits, and Temporalities*, ed. Meghan E. Buchanan and B. Jacob Skousen, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015), 102; Eleanor Harrison-Buck, "Maya Religion and Gods," in *Tracing the Relational: The Archaeology of Worlds, Spirits, and Temporalities*, ed. Meghan E Buchanan and B. Jacob Skousen, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2015), 118–19.

19 Jan Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion* (London: Kegan Paul, 1995), 38, 40; Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 102–3, 107, 111.

20 Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 21.

21 Najman, 21.

22 Verhoeven, "The Many Dimensions of Ritual," 126.

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geographers knew of a city named "Midama Madyan" in the Wadi ʿAfal east of the Gulf of Aqaba, probably modern Al-Bad.[23] In terms of historical geography, Midian can be considered to encompass the Wadi ʿAfal commercial route from Aqaba along the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba and Red Sea, the two routes across the Hisma plateau, and all the lands of the northern Hejaz south of the Hisma from Tayma to the coast.[24] From Midian, routes let east from Tayma to Mesopotamia, and south from Dedan (Al-ʿUla) to the incense sources.[25] The southern limit of Midian would be the Wadi Tiryam and Wadi Sadr.[26] As will be shown, the extent of Qurayyah Painted Ware is another way to clarify what sites should be included, and this pottery type also ranges from Aqaba to Wadi Sadr.[27] The evidence outlined below shows that "The northwest Arabian region was already economically and culturally autonomous during the Late Bronze Age."[28]

The key site for ancient Midian is Tayma, and its chronology is central for understanding the region. Only in recent years has thorough archaeology been undertaken at Tayma and neighboring sites, and so earlier publications cannot be used without caution. The name is written *Te-ma, Te-ma-a* and *Te-ma-ʾ* in Akkadian inscriptions from the time of Sennacherib through the reign of Nabonidus. It is spelled *tymʾ* in Aramaic inscriptions from the city itself, and *tmʾ* in Thamudic texts from its vicinity (c. 400 BC). The name could be a *faʿlaʾ*-formation from *TYM*. *Taym* means "slave" in Arabic. Alternatively, the name may be a formation with a *ta-* prefix from *WMY* (cf. Akk. *wamāʾum*, later *tamû*; Syr *îmâ*, "to swear an oath"; Qatabanian *wmy* "confederates"). In that case, the name may indicate that the oasis was cultically and politically central for the surrounding tribes. Although a form like *Tawmâʾ would be expected if the name were derived from WMY, we do not know how far the Northwest Semitic shift of *w-* to *y-* had, by the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, penetrated into Arabia.[29] This etymology is important because Tayma cannot be equated linguistically with Teman (תֵּימָן), without final *alef,* a

23 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 55; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Μαδιαμα," *ZDMG* 135 (1985): 16–21; Knauf, *Midian: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr*; ADPV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 1.

24 Knauf, *Midian*, 2.

25 James Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (1934) (New York: Ktav, 1969), 44; Gus Van Beek, "Prolegomenon," in *Arabia and the Bible*, by James Montgomery (New York: Ktav, 1969), xvii; Richard Wellington and George Potter, "Lehi's Trail from the Valley of Lemuel to Nephi's Harbor," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* (2006), 28; Ulrich Hübner, "Early Arabs in Pre-Hellenistic Palestine in the Context of the Old Testament," in *Nach Petra und ins Königreich der Nabatäer*, ed. Ulrich Hübner et al.; Bonner biblische Beiträge 118 (Bodenheim: Philo, 1998), 35.

26 Römer, *The Invention of God*, 55; Knauf, *Midian*, 2; Hübner, "Early Arabs in Pre-Hellenistic Palestine in the Context of the Old Testament," 35.

27 M. Ingraham et al., "Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance Survey of the Northwest Province," *Atlal* 5 (1981): 75; Knauf, *Midian*, 5.

28 Arnulf Hausleiter, "Ancient Tayma," in *Roads of Arabia : Archaologische Schatze aus Saudi-Arabien*, ed. Uta Franke (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2012), 111.

29 Ernst Axel Knauf, "Tema (Place)," *ABD*, 346.

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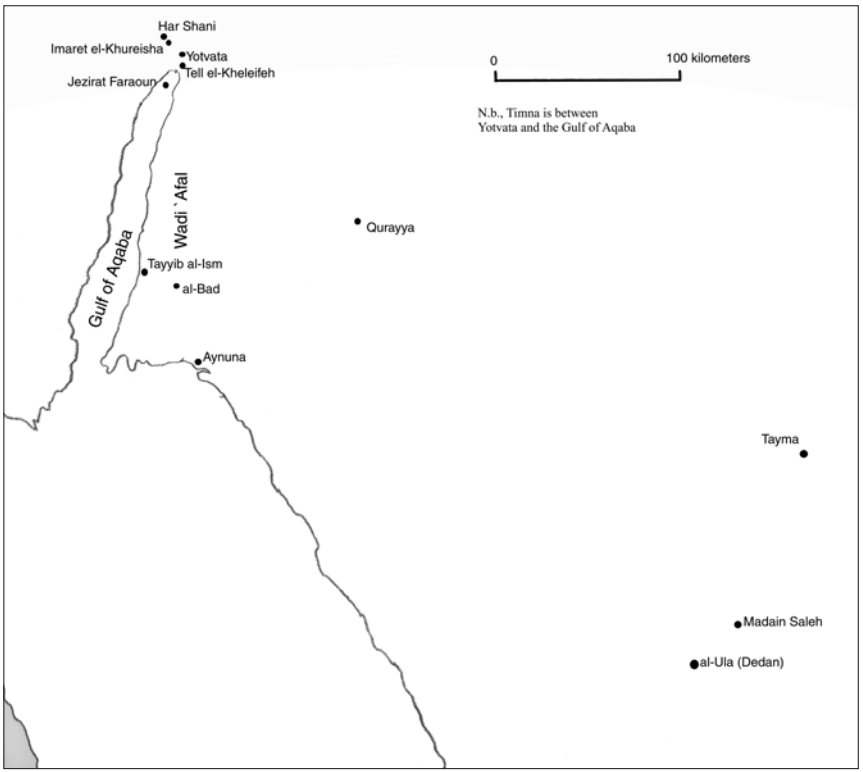

Fig. 6.1. Map of Midian.

geographical designation from the root YMN with *t*-prefix, its meaning "south" deriving from the direction "right."

Although settlement began at Tayma as early as the 3rd millennium BC,[30] and the site is not mentioned until 8th-century Assyrian texts, Tayma becomes important in the 9th century as both an entrepôt and a check on the free movement of desert tribes to the south.[31] The site is mentioned by numerous Assyrian kings, including

30 Arnulf Hausleiter and Alina Zur, "Tayma' in the Bronze Age (c. 2,000 BCE)," in *The Archaeology of North Arabia. Oases and Landscapes*, ed. Marta Luciani (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 136, 157.

31 Arnulf Hausleiter, "L'Oasis de Taymaᶜ," in *Routes d'Arabie: archéologie et histoire du royaume d'Arabie Saoudite*, ed. ᶜAlī ibn Ibrāhīm Ghabbān and Musée du Louvre (Paris: Somogy, 2010), 219–20; Ricardo Eichmann, Hanspeter Schaudig, and Arnulf Hausleiter, "Archaeology and Epigraphy at Tayma," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 17 (2006): 168; Alasdair Livingstone, "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taima," in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, ed. Markham J. Geller, Jonas C. Greenfield, and Michael Weitzman; JSSSup 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 138; William Robertson Smith, "Early Relations of Arabia with Syria, and Particularly with Palestine" (Cambridge, 1874), pt. 4, MS Add. 7476/

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Tiglath-Pilesar III, Shalmaneser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Ashurbanipal, before becoming the center stage for Mesopotamian politics in the time of the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus.

Most of the study of Tayma has been devoted to the 7th- and 6th-century city,[32] and there is a lot that can be said about its religion (see below). In the modern excavations of the site, this Iron II period is designated Phase 3. Phase 6 is the earliest, Neolithic through Early Bronze occupation (i. e., Early and Middle Arabian Pastoral, 9000–2200 BC), and Phase 5 consists of Middle Bronze and early Late Bronze Age structures, including the northwest wall, with dates confirmed by radiocarbon dating.[33]

But there is also a Phase 4, which stratum is dated the end of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.[34] It is attested in 12th–9th century structures in Areas A, al-Nasim D, and O (where it is awkwardly called Level O:3) of the Qraya site (the central area of Tayma, where the current excavation's Areas A, C-E, L-M, O, and Z are located).[35] The six-hectare irrigation system in Area H (Compound A) belongs to this phase.[36] This is the phase whose religion is most crucial.

Recent work has refined the chronology of this period even more finely by pottery seriation.[37] Red Burnished Ware is a mid- to late 2nd millennium style.[38] It is a dark red, handmade, coarse mineral fabric, bands of white clay applied in rusticated design. A subgroup of Red Burnished Ware is so-called Barbotine Ware, found at Tayma and Qurayyah. Grey Burnished Ware, which has copper and feldspar inclusions, dates to the same period, in particular the 13th and 12th centuries. Qurayyah Painted Ware dates to the 12th–10th centuries. This pottery has a light fabric with course cream and red, well-levigated matrix, high firing, thick cream slip, and painted design usually in two colors (bichrome) in red, black, brown, or yellow.[39] The painted designs are both geometric forms and, to

H61. Contra A. R. Ansary and Husayn bin Ali Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma: Crossroads of Civilizations*; Prominent Cities on the Frankincense Route Series 2 (Riyadh: Dar Al-Qawafil, 2005), 15, it is not mentioned by Sargon I or Naram-Sin.

32 B. Jacobs and M. C. A. MacDonald, "Felszeichnung eines Reiters aus der Umgebung von Tayma," *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archaologie* 2 (2009): 364–76.

33 Hausleiter, "L'Oasis de Taymaʿ," 229.

34 Hausleiter, 227.

35 Eichmann, Schaudig, and Hausleiter, "Archaeology and Epigraphy at Tayma," 169; Ricardo Eichmann et al., "Tayma 2007—4th Report on the Joint Saudi-German Archaeological Project," *Atlal* 22 (2012): 104; Ricardo Eichmann et al., "Tayma—Autumn 2005 and 2006, 3rd Report on the Joint Saudi Arabian-German Archaeological Project," *Atlal* 21 (2011): 65; Arnulf Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2010—7th Report on the Saudi-Arabian-German Joint Archaeological Project," 2018, 66–67.

36 Hausleiter and Zur, "'Tayma' in the Bronze Age (c. 2,000 BCE)," 140.

37 Hausleiter and Zur, 135–36.

38 Hausleiter and Zur, 135.

39 Peter Parr, "Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and Its Historical Implications," in *Araby the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology*, ed. Daniel T. Potts;

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a lesser extent, birds (including ostriches), camels, other animals, and humans.[40] Qurayyah Painted Ware shows some signs of Mycenaean influence, and these are attributable to Late Bronze Age trade;[41] There is no Mycenaean pottery *per se* in Arabia.[42] Finally, Qurayyah Painted Ware develops into Sanaʿiye Ware, which type is characteristic of the 9th to 5th centuries.[43] This type, which differs from Qurayyah Painted Ware in both fabric (it is Macrofabric 2, rather than QPW's 3) and form,[44] has been found in al-ʿUla and Tayma (east of Building E-b1, in the cemeteries of the Industrial Site), but also as far as Edom and the United Arab Emirates.[45]

The 13th and 12th centuries are attested by a tower at the northwest corner of the outer city wall in locus W41 and other loci.[46] This period is characterized byRed Burnished Ware, found also in the previous phase, and by Grey Burnished Ware

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CNI Publications 7 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1988), 73–74, 82; Robert G. Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*; The Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series 6 (Sheffield: Almond, 1988), 26; Jacob E. Dunn, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron and From Whose Hills You May Mine Copper': A Transdisciplinary Approach to the Midianite-Qenite Hypothesis" (Diss., Penn State University, 2015), 11; J.E. Dayton, "Midianite and Edomite Pottery," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (1972): 27–29.

40 Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*, 26; Knauf, *Midian*, 23–24; Rémy Boucharlat, "Archaeology and Artifacts of the Arabian Peninsula," *CANE*, 2.1351; Peter Parr, "Contacts Between Northwest Arabia and Jordan," in *Studies in the History and Antiquity of Jordan*, ed. Adnan Hadid (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1982), 1.130.

41 Jan Kalsbeek and Gloria London, "A Late Second Millennium BC Pottery Puzzle," *BASOR* 232 (1978): 53; Peter Parr, "Further Reflections on Late Second Millennium Settlement in North West Arabia," in *Retrieving the Past: Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus W. Van Beek*, ed. Joe D. Seger (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 214; Hamid Ibrahim Abu-Duruk, *Introduction to the Archaeology of Tayma'* (Riyadh: Department of Antiquities and Museums, 1986), 11; Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Symbolic and Social World of the Qurayyah Pottery Iconography," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes, ANESSup 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 189.

42 Parr, "Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and Its Historical Implications," 84.

43 Arnulf Hausleiter, "Pottery Groups of the Late 2nd/Early 1st Millennia BC in Northwest Arabia and New Evidence from the Excavations at Tayma," in *Recent Trends in the Study of Late Bronze Age Ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and Neighbouring Regions*, ed. Marta Luciani, Arnulf Hausleiter, and Claudia Beuger; Orient Archäologie 32 (Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 2014), 419–20; Arnulf Hausleiter, "The Oasis of Tayma," in *Roads of Arabia: Archaeology and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, ed. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm Ghabbān (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2012), 240.

44 Arnulf Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2009—6th Report on the Joint Saudi Arabian-German Archaeological Project," *Atlal* 25, 2018.

45 Abdulaziz bin Saud Al-Ghazzi, "Dating and Ascertaining the Origin of the Painted Al-Ula Pottery," *Atlal* 15 (2000): 180–82; Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2010—7th Report on the Saudi-Arabian-German Joint Archaeological Project"; Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2009—6th Report on the Joint Saudi Arabian-German Archaeological Project."

46 Hausleiter, "Pottery Groups of the Late 2nd/Early 1st Millennia BC in Northwest Arabia and New Evidence from the Excavations at Tayma," 401.

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(over half of the pottery from locus SU 3734 in Building E-b1).[47] Radiocarbon dates associated with this material are 1330 and 1130.[48] The 11th and 10th centuries are associated with Qurayyah Painted Ware (see below) and buildings in Areas A and O.[49] In the final decades of this phase, Qurayyah Painted Ware gives way to Sanaʿiye Ware.[50]

An inscription of Rameses III (1183–1152) was discovered in 2010 at Tayma.[51] It is likely that this inscription belongs with one at Themilat Radadi on the coast at the modern Egyptian-Israeli border and another in the Wadi Abu Gada in Sinai, marking out a branch of the Egyptian land route to Timna, perhaps intended to obtain incense from further south.[52]

Although there is an archaeological gap in the 8th- early 7th century,[53] Tayma is attested in Ancient Near Eastern texts from the end of this time. These include, first, a 790 Luwian inscription of Yariri from Carchemish that names four scripts, one of which is probably Tayman as Livingstone and Younger have argued (and not Aramaic, following Payne and Melchert),[54] and second, from a decade or so later, a mention in the so-called Sūḫu Annals from Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur son of Governor Shamash-resh-utsur of Suhu (south of Mari on the Euphrates) listing products of "Temanites and Sabaeans."[55] Nevertheless, the 9th century remains unattested, and the entire region of Midian exhibits a discontinuity between the cultural phase represented by the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages and the Iron II

47 Hausleiter, 402, 404, 405; Arnulf Hausleiter, "Tayma, Saudi-Arabien: Multidisziplinäre Forschungen in der Oase," E-Forschungsberichte des DAI 2016 3, 2016, 149, urn.nbn.de:0048-DAI-EDAI-F.2016–3-25–6; Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2010—7th Report on the Saudi-Arabian-German Joint Archaeological Project"; Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2009—6th Report on the Joint Saudi Arabian-German Archaeological Project."

48 Hausleiter, "Pottery Groups of the Late 2nd/Early 1st Millennia BC in Northwest Arabia and New Evidence from the Excavations at Tayma," 404.

49 Hausleiter, 402, 419–20.

50 Hausleiter, 419–20; Hausleiter, "The Oasis of Tayma," 240.

51 Claire Somaglino and Pierre Tallet, "A Road to the Arabian Peninsula in the Reign of Ramesses III," in *Desert road archaeology in ancient Egypt and beyond*, ed. Frank Förster; Africa praehistorica 27 (Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2014), 511.

52 Somaglino and Tallet, 512–13; Gunnar Sperveslage, "Intercultural Connections between Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula at the Turn of the 2nd to the 1st Millennium BCE," in *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), 309; Siran Liu, et al., "Copper Processing in the Oases of Northwest Arabia: Technology, Alloys and Provenance," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 53 (2015): 492.

53 Hausleiter, "Ancient Tayma," 113.

54 Livingstone, "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taimaʾ," 136; Alasdair Livingstone, "Taimaʾ: A Nexus for Historical Contact and Cultural Interchange within Desert Borders," in *Languages and Cultures in Contact: At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm*, ed. Karel van Lerberghe and Gabriela Voet; OLA 96 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 234; K. Lawson Younger, Jr., "The Scripts of North Syria in the Early First Millennium: The Inscription of Yariri (KARKAMIS A15b) Once Again," *Transeuphratène* 46 (2014): 169–71, 174–79.

55 Livingstone, "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taima," 138.

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world. It is this Iron II society that is represented by the stelae and "cubes" from Tayma, as well as the references Ashurbanipal makes in the 7th century of the "Confederation of the god Atarsamayin and the land of Nabioth" (Rassam Prism A = *COS* 4.41, viii.110–15; viii.120-ix.5).[56]

The Iron IIb religion of Tayma can be briefly reviewed, not because it is relevant for the understanding of "Midianite religion" of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, but precisely the opposite—because it is distinctly different from Midian religion. This will become clearer with a short excursus on the Iron IIb period.

In 1968, an inscription was found at Tayma in the Al-Radhm site, a palace on the western wall of the city, dated to 400 BC.[57] Line 1 contains the personal name *Ṣlmšzb*, known from *KAI* 2.280.[58] The theophoric element here is *Ṣlm*, probably Ṣalm, known from other Tayma inscriptions (*KAI* #228, 2.279).[59] Ṣalm is also the god of the unidentified city of Hagam, and appears as Salamioi in Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica*.[60] Dalley considered Ṣalm the god of the solar disk, but with little justification, and a connection with the Midianite personal name Salmunna (Judg 8:5–21) is also uncertain.[61] Also in line 1 is the divine name *ʾlhtʾ*, probably not the Northwest Semitic goddess Athirat, but rather Isis, appearing also in lines 3–4 as "the goddess."[62] The final divine name on the inscription is *Śngl*ʾ, or Śengallā, which Altheim and Stiehl consider to be a composite of the moon god Sin plus the root GLʾ third person masculine singular perfect Peal or active or passive Peal participle.[63] This identification of Sengalla with Sin is accepted by Livingstone, Lipiński, and Caquot, but contested by Cross, Millard, and Zadok, and Lemaire says it remains uncertain.[64]

In 1979, another stele was discovered, this one referring to the King of Lihyan. Known as Stele ZZ, it is dated to 400 BC and measures 1 by 1.5 meters. It is

56 Pamela Gerardi, "Arab Campaigns of Assurbanipal," *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 6 (1992): 67–104.

57 Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, eds., *Christentum am Roten Meer* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973), 2.243; Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 42; Hamid Ibrahim Abu-Duruk, "Critical and Comparative Discussion of Certain Ancient Monuments (Part of the City Wall, Qasr Al-Radm, and Qasr Al Hamraᶜ), in the North Arabian City of Taymaᶜ in the Light of Evidence Furnished by Excavations" (Diss., Leeds, 1981), 38.

58 Altheim and Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer* 2.243.

59 Altheim and Stiehl, 244.

60 Altheim and Stiehl, 250; *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*; Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae 43 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006).

61 André Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes anciennes de Teima," in *Présence Arabe dans le croissant fertile avant l'Hégire*, ed. Hélène Lozachmeur (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1995), 69; Frank Moore Cross, "A New Aramaic Stele from Tayma' (1986)," in *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy,* HSS 51 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 186.

62 Altheim and Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer 2*. 244–46.

63 Altheim and Stiehl, 2.245–46.

64 Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes anciennes de Teima," 69.

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decorated with a winged disk, eight-pointed star, and the moon—designs with many Neo-Babylonian parallels.[65] Ṣalm is mentioned in lines 2 and 6, and line 6 lists Ṣalm, Sengalla, and Ashima as "the gods of Tayma."[66]

Much in this inscription recalls an Aramaic inscription found in 1884 at Tayma now in the Louvre, dated to the 6th century (*CIS* 2.113–121; *KAI* 228).[67] Line 2 of that text describes the installation of a priest of Ṣalm, and the god is called "Ṣalm of Hagam" in lines 3–4, 10, 12, and 17. Ashima appears in lines 3 and 16. The original reading of Ashira was incorrect, and identification of Ashima with the god of Hamath in 2 Kgs 17:30 is provisional.[68] The inscription includes images of a winged disk, a figure holding a scepter, and an altar with a bull's head on it.[69]

The so-called Tayma Cube was found in the Qasr al-Hamra site on the northwest corner of Tayma, in Room 1 of the Neo-Babylonian shrine, dated c. 500 BC.[70] It is a green stone cube with inscriptions on two faces. The north face has a bull's head on an altar reached by stairs, with a solar disk between the bull's horns. Above the head is a star and above that a crescent moon. There are two worshippers facing the bull.[71] On the east face is a female figure making an offering to a bull that faces left, with a sun disk between its horns and above the bull a winged sun and an eight-pointed star.[72] Some comparable designs are slightly earlier, including 8th-century parallels from Ashur and Tell Abta, but there are also many Persian-period parallels,[73] as well as some South Arabian ones.[74]

In the same room as the Cube was the stele discovered in 1979, discussed above. The shrine itself is a late design, similar to a Phoenician temple in Sardinia and a South Arabian temple of Ba-Qutfah.[75] Radiocarbon dates are between 670 and 410.[76]

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65 Livingstone, "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taima'," 140; Abu-Duruk, "Critical and Comparative Discussion of Certain Ancient Monuments," 61–62.

66 Livingstone, "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taima'," 140–41; Cross, "A New Aramaic Stele from Tayma' (1986)," 184–85.

67 Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes anciennes de Teima," 66.

68 Abu-Duruk, "Critical and Comparative Discussion of Certain Ancient Monuments," 66; Livingstone, "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taima'," 142; Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes anciennes de Teima," 70; contra Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 77, who still read Ashira. Abu-Duruk, *Introduction to the Archaeology of Tayma'*, 66.

69 Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 80.

70 Abu-Duruk, *Introduction to the Archaeology of Tayma'*, 53.

71 Abu-Duruk, "Critical and Comparative Discussion of Certain Ancient Monuments," 57–58; Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 44–45; Abu-Duruk, *Introduction to the Archaeology of Tayma'*, 57–59.

72 Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 45; Abu-Duruk, "Critical and Comparative Discussion of Certain Ancient Monuments," 58.

73 Abu-Duruk, "Critical and Comparative Discussion of Certain Ancient Monuments," 60.

74 Abu-Duruk, *Introduction to the Archaeology of Tayma'*, 59.

75 Abu-Duruk, 53.

76 Abu-Duruk, 54.

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A 6th-century inscription from the Bani ʾAtiya site of Tayma, a watchtower 8 km north of the main site, mentions Ṣalm.[77] Inscriptions from Mount Ghunaim, 10 km southwest of the main site, also mention Ṣalm and depict him with an oval chinless head with two horns. A stone tablet from Ghunaim depicts a goddess on a throne holding a scepter and a basket.[78]

We also have data from the period when the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus relocated his court to Tayma in 552 and remained there until 529.[79] It is beyond the scope of this study to determine why Nabonidus made this move; it was certainly not militarily (or politically) expedient, and Lambert and others assumed it was because of his obsession with the god Sin and the importance of Sin worship at Tayma.[80] There is little evidence for Sin worship at Tayma, however, and Harran would have been a much more natural place if that were the motivation. Wilson and Finkel's argument that a famine drove Nabonidus from Babylon, and the move to Tayma was an effort on his part to get *away* from Sin, is convincing.[81]

In the Harran Inscription (Stele fragment 3), Nabonidus asserts control over Tayma, Dedan, Padukku (Fadak al-Ha'it), Hibra (Khaybar), Iadihu (al-Huwait), and Iaatribu (Yathrib=Medina).[82] At this point, Tayma had entered fully into the Mesopotamian world, and appears in many Nabonidus texts, letters from Uruk, Uruk archival documents, and Neo-Babylonian business documents (e.g., *ABC* 106.2.5; 107.2.10; *ABL* 1404.4).[83] The shrine set up in the northwest corner of the Tayma city wall is thoroughly Mesopotamian in design.[84] Inscriptions on the road from Tayma to Madain Saleh mention Nabonidus, Ṣalm, and Al-Lat (Allat).[85]

This is all irrelevant, however, for the present study, as it dates to the 5th century BC.[86] If the moon-god Sin was at Tayma at all, it was in Iron IIb Tayma. The bull of Tayma is not the bull that is sometimes Yahweh (Gen 49:24; Num 23:22; 24:8),

77 Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 61.

78 Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, 66, 69.

79 Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, 24.

80 Wilfred G. Lambert, "Nabonidus in Arabia," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 2 (1972): 58–61.

81 James V. Kinnier Wilson and I. L. Finkel, "On Busanu and Diʾu, or Why Nabonidus Went to Tema," *Journal des médecines cunéiformes* 9 (2007): 16–22.

82 Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 19; Ran Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*; Répertoire géographique des textes cunéformes 8 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1985), 307–8; Lambert, "Nabonidus in Arabia," 53–56.

83 Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*, 307–8.

84 Abu-Duruk, "Critical and Comparative Discussion of Certain Ancient Monuments," 53–54.

85 Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 72–76; Alasdair Livingstone, "Taima and Nabonidus," in *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski, C. Mee, and E. A. Slater, LHB/OTS 426 (New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 31.

86 Hausleiter, "L'Oasis de Taymaᶜ," 254.

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something that probably came from Canaanite El (KTU 1.4 iv.39).[87] As discussed above, there is a complete disconnect between Iron IIb Tayma and LB-Iron I Tayma. In the later period, Mesopotamian influence is marked. In addition, deities appear such as Al-Lat, Wadd, Atarsamain, and Manat (see below) that were more at home in the South Arabian world in earlier periods[88]—hence their appearance in Hisham Ibn Al-Kalbi's 8th-century AD *Kitāb al-Aṣnām.*[89] It is not too far from the mark to speak of this as the Arabicization of Midian, and it happens just when Arabs begin to appear in Mesopotamian texts, Arabs such as the thousand-camel force of Gindibu (Jundub) in the alliance against Shalmaneser III at Qarqar in 853 (and even the Arab tribute to Jehoshaphat placed by 2 Chron 17:11 at precisely this time).[90]

One phenomenon in Iron II Tayma, however, sheds light on this discontinuity. There are a half-dozen inscriptions from Tayma that insult Ṣalm, that say "Ṣalm is a disgusting god" or otherwise heap abuse on him.[91] This is despite the fact that Ṣalm is among the high triad of Taymanite gods, outranking Sengalla and Ashima.[92] One possible explanation is that Ṣalm was himself a newcomer to Tayma, that at least some element of the population of Old Tayma saw Ṣalm as a foreign intrusion.[93] This makes far more sense than the explanation that Ṣalm is actually Nabonidus, deified.[94]

87 Whether the bull moon-god at Bethsaida is related to Yahweh or to Tayma's imagery is unclear; Monika Bernett and Othmar Keel, *Mond, Stier und Kult am Stadttor: die Stele von Betsaida (et-Tell)*, OBO 161 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1998).

88 Already, Van Beek, "Prolegomenon," xiv; Toufic Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hegire*, Institut Français d'archéologie de Beyrouth bibliothèque archéologique et historique 88 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1968), 46, 143, 182; Hashim M. Al-Tawil, "Early Arab Icons: Literary and Archaeological Evidence for the Cult of Religious Images in Pre-Islamic Arabia" (Diss., University of Iowa, 1993), 184; Yehuda Elitzur, Yehudah Ḳil, and Lenn J. Schramm, *The Daat Mikra Bible Atlas* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 2011), 74–75; John Huehnergard, "Semitic Languages," in *CANE* 4.2120.vol. 4 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000

89 Hisham Ibn Al-Kalbi, *The Book of Idols*, trans. Nabih Amin Faris; Princeton Oriental Studies 14 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), s.v. Wadd, Yaghuth, Yaʿuq; Claudio Monge, "La religion arabe traditionnelle," in *Les fondations de l'Islam* (Paris: Seuil, 2009).

90 Israel Ephʿal, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Century B.C* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982); Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, "Les Arabes en Arabie du nord et au proche-oriente," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 61 (1991): 37; Jibrāʾīl Sulaymān Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert: Aspects of Nomadic Life in the Arab East*; SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 475–77.

91 Hani Hayajneh, "Die frühnordarabischen taymanischen Inschriften und die Frage der Antipathie gegen den Gotts Slm in der Region von Tayma," in *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra*, ed. Werner Arnold (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 74–85.

92 Hayajneh, 88.

93 Hayajneh, 87, 91.

94 Suggested by Hayajneh, 92.

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A couple of other sites need to be considered alongside Iron I Tayma, and some of them should be discounted. The key to linking these sites is Qurayyah Painted Ware.

When Qurayyah Painted Ware was first identified, archaeologists called it "Midianite Ware." Ethnic attributions for pottery styles were wisely rejected as scholars came to realize that "Pots don't equal people," as the saying goes.[95] Ethnicity does not leave index markers in the material culture. Nevertheless, what eventually became evident was that the sites where Qurayyah Painted Ware was found in significant quantities were exactly in what the Bible called "Midian,"[96] although no Quraayah Painted Ware has ever been found in the Sinai Peninsula.[97] Qurayyah Painted Ware consists of non-trade vessels, which indicates people themselves were moving into regions where the pottery occurs.[98] Moreover, *all* examples of Qurayyah Painted Ware, wherever they have been found, are petrographically identical and, we know by neutron activation analysis and petrography, were all manufactured in northwest Arabia—not, as was once thought, only at the site of Qurayyah itself, but in its vicinity.[99] Although Gunneweg in 1991 did INAA analysis that found Qurayyah Painted Ware to be locally made in the Arabah,[100] more recent Matrix Group by Refiring analysis and WD-XRF analysis continues to indicate a few sources in northwestern Arabia.[101]

95 Knauf, *Midian*, 17; contra Uzi Avner, "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes, ANESSup 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 135, who says the exact opposite.

96 Parr, "Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and Its Historical Implications," 84–85; Peter Parr, "Aspects of the Archaeology of North-West Arabia in the First Millennium BC," in *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, ed. T. Fahd; Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antique 10 (Strasbourg: Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg, 1989), 43.

97 Charles Whittaker, "The Biblical Significance of Jabal Al Lawz" (Diss., Louisiana Baptist University, 2003), 19.

98 Juan Manuel Tebes, "Pottery Makers and Premodern Exchange in the Fringes of Egypt," *Buried History* 43 (2007): 19.

99 Beno Rothenberg and Jonathan Glass, "The Midianite Pottery," in *Midian, Moab, and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and North-West Arabia*, ed. John F. A. Sawyer and David J. A. Clines, JSOTSup 24 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 111–12; Dunn, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron and From Whose Hills You May Mine Copper': A Transdisciplinary Approach to the Midianite-Qenite Hypothesis," 9.

100 Neil G. Smith, "Social Boundaries and State Formation in Ancient Edom" (Diss., University of California, San Diego, 2009), 369–70.

101 Andrea Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware: A Reassessment of 40 Years of Research on Its Origins, Chronology and Distribution," in *The Archaeology of North Arabia. Oases and Landscapes*, ed. Marta Luciani (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 212–16; Malgorzata Daskiewicz, "Archaeometrical Analyses of Qurayyah Painted Ware from Tayma and Qurayyah," in *Recent Trends in the Study of Late Bronze Age Ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and Neighbouring Regions*, ed. Marta Luciani, Arnulf Hausleiter, and Claudia Beuger; Orient

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If we remove the 47 % of sites where only one sherd of Qurayyah Painted Ware has been found,[102] we can speak of a contiguous "macro-region," vast and "differentiated internally" yet "an organic, unified perception" on account of its physical continuity with a "minimum of dislocation" and its stylistic uniformity.[103] This "Midian" has a heartland in northwest Arabia, and the only reason this heartland accounts for a "mere" 52 % of all Qurayyah Painted Ware sherds found is the scant archaeology of the region.[104] In addition, Midianite influence extends up the Arabah Valley, which produced over three times the number of Qurayyah Painted Ware sherds as did all sites to the north.[105]

Much Qurayyah Painted Ware was found at Tayma, west of the cairn-fields, in Compound W at the far western edge of the site west of Qasr al-Hamra, and in residences of Phase 4.[106]

The site of Al-ʿUla, ancient Dedan, produced some Middle Bronze Age pottery but then nothing until the 10th century, when there are nominal sherds,[107] including around fifty sherds of Qurayyah Painted Ware.[108] Everything that has been excavated, however, is from the 6th century or later, and its tombs are 7th to 4th-century,[109] making it irrelevant for the present study. Thus, the entire kingdom of Lihyan, with its gods Du-Ghabit, Wadd, Manat, and others (including Qaus), should be disregarded because it dates to the 6th century and later.[110]

Archäologie 32 (Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 2014), 409–13; Smith, "Social Boundaries and State Formation in Ancient Edom," 381, 567.

102 Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 186.

103 Giorgio Buccellati, "The Origin of the Tribe and of 'Industrial' Agropastoralism in Syro-Mesopotamia," in *The Archaeology of Mobility: Old World and New World Nomadism*, ed. Hans Barnard and Willeke Wendrich; Cotsen Advanced Seminar Series 4 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2008), 147, who defines "macro-region" using an example of the Amorite steppe.

104 Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 189.

105 Intilia, 192.

106 Christopher Edens and Garth Bowden, "History of Taymaʾ and Hejazi Trade during the First Millennium BC," *JESHO* 32 (1989): 55, 57.

107 Said F. Al-Said, "Dedan (Al-ʿUla)," in *Routes d'Arabie: archéologie et histoire du royaume d'Arabie Saoudite*, ed. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm Ghabbān (Paris: Somogy, 2010), 265.

108 Hausleiter, "Pottery Groups of the Late 2nd/Early 1st Millennia BC in Northwest Arabia and New Evidence from the Excavations at Tayma," 402; Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 188.

109 Al-Said, "Dedan (Al-ʿUla)," 268; Jean-François Salles, "Al-ʿUla—Dedan," *Topoi* 6 (1996): 589; Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 17; Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, 26–27; Dhaifalleh al-Talhi, "Madain Salih, A Nabataean Town in North West Arabia" (Diss., University of Southampton, 2000), 7, 176.

110 On these deities, see Javier Teixidor, *The Pagan God* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 68–69; S. Al-Theeb, "A New Minaean Inscription from North Arabia," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 1 (1990): 20–23; Al-Tawil, "Early Arab Icons," 178; Huehnergard, "Semitic Languages," 2120; M. C. A. MacDonald, "North Arabia in the First Millennium BCE," *CANE* 2.1362; Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2001), 141; Saba Farès-Drappeau, *Dédan et Lihyan: Histoire des*

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Things are more questionable with pre-Lihyanite Dedanite inscriptions, as the earliest of these are 8th-century and called by some scholars Taymanite (formerly Thamudic A).[111] In fact, the most recent studies have pushed even these into the 7th century.[112] In any case, there are few Dedanite inscriptions from this early period, all found east of the Al-ʿUla railway station.[113] These inscriptions have several theophoric names, including ʿ*ḏr'l* (=Azriel), Kabur-Il, and Mataʿ-Il.[114] As the theophoric element in all cases is simply "El," which may well mean just "god," these are of little help.

One inscription that may paleographically fall into this 8th/7th- century category has the theophoric name Naʿargadd, with the theophoric element the god of fortune, Gadd.[115] According to Isa 65:11, Gad was a deity with a consort named Meni (the Septuagint rendered this Daimon and Tyche in most manuscripts, although some reverse the pairs so that Gad is Tyche). There are abundant seals from 7th-century Ammon and later Yemen with that name,[116] including Ammonite Milkomgad.[117] The Arabic name "Abd al-Gadd" preserves the divine name.[118] The rôle of Gadd was assumed by Manat—perhaps cognate with Isaiah's Meni: the root is MNW—as god of fortune in later Arabia (Ibn Kathir, *Tafsir al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓeem*, 53; Muhammad al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari,* 18.79; Ibn Hisham,

Arabes aux confins des pouvoirs perse et hellénistique, IVe-IIe s. avant l'ère chrétienne, Travaux de la maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 42 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2005), 80–89; Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 18–19, 23, 29–30; Husayn bin Ali Abu Al-Hasan, "Le Royaume de Lihyan," in *Routes d'Arabie: archéologie et histoire du royaume d'Arabie Saoudite*, ed. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm Ghabbān (Paris: Somogy, 2010), 272; Said F. Al-Said, "Recent Epigraphic Evidence from the Excavations at Al-ʿUla Reveals a New King of Dadan," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 22 (2011): 196–97, 199–200; n.a., "Hobal, Allah et ses filles," in *Documents sur les origines de l'Islam* (Paris: Calameo, n.d.), 72, 134, – 36, 138, 195, 216–19, http://www.islam-documents.ch/pdf/08_Pantheon.pdf.

111 Farès-Drappeau, *Dédan et Lihyan*, 118; Fiorella Scagliarini, "La chronologie dédanite et lihyanite," in *Présence arabe dans le croissant fertile avant l'Hégire*, ed. Hélène Lozachmeur (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1995), 120; contra Huehnergard, "Semitic Languages," 2120; F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed, *Ancient Records from North Arabia*; Near and Middle East 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 114.

112 Marwan G. Shuaib, "The Arabs of North Arabia in Later Pre-Islamic Times: Qedar, Nebaioth, and Others" (Diss., University of Manchester, 2014), 236.

113 Farès-Drappeau, *Dédan et Lihyan*, 149.

114 Farès-Drappeau, 149–51.

115 Winnett and Reed, *Ancient Records from North Arabia*, 115.

116 Maʾoz, "Baniyas and Baal-Gad 'Below Mt Hermon,'" *Transeuphratene* 39 (2010): 113–19.

117 N. Avigad, "Some Decorated West Semitic Seals," *IEJ* 35 (1985): 1–7. Cf. Gaddiel (Num 13:10), Gaddi (Num 13:12; 2 Kgs 15:14), Samaria Ostraca Gaddiyau, Arad Ostraca Gaddiyahu; Z. Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel* (New York: T & T Clark, 2000), 605. Ahlstrom reconstructs the phrase "My Gad" on a bowl from the LB temple at Lachish; Gosta W. Ahlström, "Was Gad the god of Tell Ed-Duweir," *PEQ* 115 (1983): 47–48.

118 Julius Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1887), 171.

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As-Sirah an-Nabawiyyah, 739; Malik ibn Anas, *Muwatta,* 838; 20/40.130).[119] It is difficult to make much on a single name, and the associations with South Arabian traditions suggest Gadd belongs with Iron IIb northern Arabia.

The site of Madain Saleh, about 20km north of Al-ʿUla, corresponds to ancient Hijr or Hijir.[120] All of its remains are late Iron II, much as late as the 5th century.[121] Its role as a religious center is thus inconsequential.[122]

Qurayyah itself, 70km northwest of modern Tabuk, has produced not only Qurayyah Painted Ware—more than at any other site—and Red Burnished Ware,[123] but also archaeological remains dating to 1200 BC, the largest of any Midianite site,[124] and one of the largest sites in all northwestern Arabia,[125] although there is insufficient evidence to speak of a "Qurayyah chiefdom."[126] The site was also occupied in later periods, to which many of its tombs date (although some are Middle Bronze), and it may be Ptolemy's (*Geography,* 6.7.27) Ostama.[127] There is

119 n.a., "Hobal, Allah et ses filles," 134–36.

120 Abu Khalil, *Atlas du Coran*, 52; Laila Néhme et al., "Mission Archéologique de Madain Saleh," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 17 (2006): 43.

121 Néhme et al., "Mission archéologique de Madain Saleh," 115; Ansary and Abu Al-Hasan, *Tayma*, 65, 72–76; Jerome Rohmer and Zbigniew T. Fiema, "Early Hegra," in *The Archaeology of North Arabia* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2016), 284, 292.

122 Garth Bowden, "Khief El-Zahrah and the Nature of Dedanite Hegemony in the Al-ʿUla Oasis," *Atlal* 3 (1979): 63–64, 66, 71; Al-Tawil, "Early Arab Icons," 179.

123 Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 191.

124 Ingraham et al., "Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance Survey of the Northwest Province," 71; Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*, 26–27; Parr, "Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and Its Historical Implications," 81; Knauf, *Midian*, 6; MacDonald, "North Arabia in the First Millennium BCE," 1362; Hausleiter, "Pottery Groups of the Late 2nd/Early 1st Millennia BC in Northwest Arabia and New Evidence from the Excavations at Tayma," 413; Marta Luciani, "Qurayyah in Northwestern Arabia" (Paper presented at the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Basel, 2014); Marta Luciani, "Urban Oases in Arabia" (Paper presented at the 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Vienna, 2016); Marta Luciani, "Mobility, Contacts and the Definition of Culture(s) in New Archaeological Research in Northwest Arabia," in *The Archaeology of North Arabia. Oases and Landscapes*, ed. Marta Luciani (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 38.

125 Luciani, "Mobility, Contacts and the Definition of Culture(s) in New Archaeological Research in Northwest Arabia," 30.

126 As does Juan Manuel Tebes, "Socio-Economic Fluctuations and Chiefdom Formation in Edom, the Negev and the Hejaz during the First Millennium BCE," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes, ANESSup 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 12.

127 David Graf, "Map 83 'Nabataea Meridionalis,'" in *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. Richard J. A. Talbert (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 1195; Abdulaziz bin Saud Al-Ghazzi, "The Kingdom of Midian," in *Roads of Arabia: Archaeology and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, ed. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm Ghabbān (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2012), 215.

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no reason to follow Boling in identifying Qurayyah as the "city" of "Beth-Yahweh" of the Shasu-Yahweh.[128]

The remains of the site, which has not been excavated, include extensive fortifications consisting of three walls, the outer one encompassing an area of five hectares, six pottery kilns with scattered clinkers around them, quarries for extracting kaolin-rich clay and temper, an elaborate irrigation system including several wadi dams, and a sandstone furnace for smelting iron-rich arsenical copper.[129] Qurayyah was an industrial pottery producer, with water collection systems designed especially for the pottery works.[130] Stone rectangular buildings used for multiple, repeated burials can be dated to Iron I by their Barbotine Ware pottery, and many of these also contained metal weapons.[131] Qurayyah sits on an oasis route from Tabuk to Aqabah (Tell el-Kheleifeh).[132] The site may have been destroyed in the 11th century.[133]

Qurayyah Painted Ware also appears at the port of Aynuna in the lower Wadi Sharmah, a site that is later probably Hellenistic Leuke Kome and sits directly opposite a major Pharaonic Egyptian port, and in a cluster of small sites on the route south from Gaza near to al-Bad in the Wadi Agharr, Wadi Umm Jurfayn, and upper Wadi ʿIfdal, including at Mughair Shuaib near Al-Bad and Tayyib al-Ism on the Gulf of Aqaba.[134] Texts from the Abbasid period indicate mining took place at Aynuna, south of Al-Bad on the Red Sea coast, so perhaps there was

128 Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*, 27.

129 Ingraham et al., "Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance Survey of the Northwest Province," 71; Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*, 26–27; Parr, "Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and Its Historical Implications," 81; Knauf, *Midian*, 6; MacDonald, "North Arabia in the First Millennium BCE," 1362; Hausleiter, "Pottery Groups of the Late 2nd/Early 1st Millennia BC in Northwest Arabia and New Evidence from the Excavations at Tayma," 413; Al-Ghazzi, "The Kingdom of Midian," 214; Luciani, "Qurayyah in Northwestern Arabia"; Liu et al., "Copper Processing in the Oases of Northwest Arabia," 496; Hausleiter, "Ancient Tayma," 111; Luciani, "Mobility, Contacts and the Definition of Culture(s) in New Archaeological Research in Northwest Arabia," 32, 45–46.

130 Luciani, "Mobility, Contacts and the Definition of Culture(s) in New Archaeological Research in Northwest Arabia," 41.

131 Marta Luciani and A. S. Al-Saud, "New Archaeological Joint Project on the Site of Qurayyah, North-West Arabia" (Paper presented to the Seminar for Arabian Studies, London: The British Museum, 2017).

132 Ricardo Eichmann, "Archaeological Exploration of the Arabian Peninsula," in *Roads of Arabia*, ed. Ute Franke and Joachim Gierlichs (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 2011), 56.

133 Al-Ghazzi, "The Kingdom of Midian," 217.

134 Ingraham et al., "Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance Survey of the Northwest Province," 74; Rothenberg and Glass, "The Midianite Pottery," 73; Parr, "Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and Its Historical Implications," 81–82; Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*, 27; Knauf, *Midian*, 5, 16; Graf, "Map 83 Nabataea Meridionalis," 1192; George Potter and Richard Wellington, *Lehi in the Wilderness* (Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, 2003), 77; Wellington and Potter, "Lehi's Trail from the Valley of Lemuel to Nephi's Harbor," 28; MacDonald, "North Arabia in the First Millennium BCE," 1362.

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mining here in earlier periods, as well.[135] The site is currently being excavated by a Polish-Saudi team.

A substantial amount of Qurayyah Painted Ware was also found in the excavations of Yotvata in modern Israel.[136] Yotvata or Ain Ghadyan (Ein Ghadian), M. R. 1552.9224, was a single-period fortified site, although the fort is completely different in design from the Negev fortresses described in the previous chapter that all lie far to the north.[137] It is not ancient Jotbatha, which is likely Taba in Egypt.[138] The site guards the Arabah Route and a substantial spring, which would have served as the main water source for the mining and metal production at Timna.[139] It cannot be considered Edomite, as it lies far south of Tawilan and the other early southern Edomite sites. Some copper slag was found here, although radiocarbon dating now suggests it was from the Chalcolithic period (4100–3500 BC),[140] as well as pottery identical to that of Timna, including Qurayyah Painted Ware and Negbite pottery.[141]

Qurayyah Painted ware also appears on the island of Jazirat Faraun (Geziret Farawn) in the Gulf of Aqaba, a site identified by some as Ezion-Geber or as classical Jotabe, and which later became a Phoenician harbor.[142]

Tell el-Kheleifeh was identified by Nelson Glueck as Ezion-Geber, as Abronah by Mazar, and by Naʿaman as Elath.[143] Tell el-Kheleifeh remains include Qurayyah

135 Gene W. Heck, "Gold Mining in Arabia and the Rise of the Islamic State," *JESHO* 42 (1999): 381–82.

136 Kalsbeek and London, "A Late Second Millennium BC Pottery Puzzle," 47, 53; Parr, "Further Reflections on Late Second Millennium Settlement in North West Arabia," 215.

137 Zeev Meshel, "Yotvata," *NEAEHL*, 1518; Uzi Avner, "The Potential of Ancient Sites in the Eilat Region for Cultural Tourism," in *Tourism Destination Development and Branding* (Eilat: n.p., 2009), 110.

138 Yohanan Aharoni, "Kadesh-Barnea and Mount Sinai," in *God's Wilderness*, ed. Beno Rothenberg (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961), 163–64; Benjamin Mazar, "Ezion-Geber and Ebronah," *EI* 12 (1975): 46–48.

139 Nelson Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1959), 36; Meshel, "Yotvata," 1518; Uzi Avner, "Eilat Region," *NEAEHL* 5.1707.

140 Uzi Avner, "Studies in the Material and Spiritual Culture of the Negev and Sinai Populations, During the 6th-3rd Millennia" (Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002), 47.

141 Avner, "Eilat Region," 1707; Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Qurayyah Painted Ware," in *Lachish*, vol. 3, n. d., 1281, https://www.academia.edu/2005391/The_Qurayyah_Painted_Ware; Gary Pratico, "Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell El-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal," *BASOR* 259 (1985): 13; Gary Davis Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell El-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal*; American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports 3 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), 36.

142 John M. Monson and Iain W. Provan, *1 and 2 Kings* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2016); Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*, 26; Aharoni, "Kadesh-Barnea and Mount Sinai," 163–64.

143 Mazar, "Ezion-Geber and Ebronah"; Nadav Naʿaman, "A New Outlook at Kuntillet ʿAjrud and Its Inscriptions," *Maarav* 20 (2013): 50. For Zeev Meshel, "On the Problem of Tell El-Kheleifeh, Elath, and Ezion-Geber," *EI* 12 (1975): 49–56, Elath is somewhere under modern Aqaba.

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Painted Ware, but the excavation by Glueck in the late 1930s cannot be relied on for stratigraphy or dating, and much of the excavated material has been lost.[144] In the 1980s, Gary Pratico sorted out the field records and systematized the phases of the site. All buildings are from the 7th century at the earliest,[145] at which point the site can be considered fully Edomite.[146] A large fort was constructed at that time, and one room was full of fine jars with the name Qausanal on the handles, a Qaus theophoric name.[147] A smelter, charcoal, substantial quantities of copper slag, and copper ore from the Timna region indicates metallurgy was done here.[148] From the 11th to the 9th century, there seems to have been no occupation at the site, although Glueck's excavations did produce six sherds of Qurayyah Painted Ware from unstratified contexts.[149] These should be associated with whoever built two tombs in the north of the site that must be dated to the 13th or 12th century.[150] These tombs have been described as "mastabas," and their analysis by Mary-Louise Mussell (see below) was cut short by her untimely death in 2005.

Near to Tell el-Kheleifeh, Qurayyah Painted Ware was found at Har Shani (M. R. 1359.9007), southwest of Timna, which I will discuss shortly.[151]

The other sizeable discovery of Qurayyah Painted Ware is from Timna, especially around the Hathor Temple in Site 2, but also in sites 3, 13–15, 30, and 34.[152] The stratigraphy there is confusing, however, and Egyptian influence powerful and patent in the religious remains. For this reason, I do not consider it in cataloguing Midianite religious archaeology.

Small amounts—scattered pottery fragments—of Qurayyah Painted Ware have been found at Tel Masos (8 sherds, but all from one vessel), Tel Gedur (Tell Jdur),

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There is another Elath mentioned in the Mishna, a day's journey from Jerusalem and within the Land of Israel—there it is an abbreviation for Eleutheropolis; Adolphe Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (1868; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), 119.

144 Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell El-Kheleifeh*, passim, esp. 21; Gregory Mumford, "The Sinai Peninsula and Its Environs: Our Changing Perceptions of a Pivotal Land Bridge Between Egypt, the Levant, and Arabia," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7 (2015): 10.

145 Pratico, "Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell El-Kheleifeh," 22, 26–27; Fawzi Zayadine, "Ayla-Aqaba in the Light of Recent Excavations," *ADAJ* 38 (1994): 486; Israel Finkelstein and Lily Singer-Avitz, "Pottery of Edom," *Antiquo Oriente* 6 (2008): 17.

146 Avner, "Eilat Region," 1707.

147 Avner, 1708; Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert*, 164.

148 Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert*, 165; Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell El-Kheleifeh*, 65 (F. L. Koucky and N. R. Miller chapter).

149 Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*, 27; Pratico, "Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell El-Kheleifeh," 22–25, 49–50.

150 Avner, "Eilat Region," 1707.

151 Uzi Avner, "Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts," *Tel Aviv* 11 (1984): 123–24.

152 Rothenberg and Glass, "The Midianite Pottery," 77–80; Tebes, "Pottery Makers and Premodern Exchange in the Fringes of Egypt," 14; Tebes, "Socio-Economic Fluctuations and Chiefdom Formation in Edom, the Negev and the Hejaz during the First Millennium BCE," 4.

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a sherd scatter at Uvda Valley Site 87a (Wadi Uqfi), two sites in Amman, En Hazeva, Ein el-Qudeirat, Lachish, and in the Feinan region of Jordan.[153] There was no Qurayyah Painted Ware at the Aharoni Fortress near Ein Quseima.[154] No Qurayyah Painted Ware has been found at al-Jawf/Duma el-Jandal.[155] It is unlikely, however, that this site can be identified as biblical Duma,[156] as it is too far to the east to fit Isa 2:11,[157] although it may be the Adummatu (not Adummu) of Neo-Assyrian records.[158] Although these mention gods—Atarsamain, Rudaiu, Nuhai, Wadd, and others—they are all from Sennacherib or later.[159] There is no evidence for occupation before the 9th century.[160]

As stated above, all Qurayyah Painted Ware was manufactured at the same location,[161] although what that means for its role in the regional economy remains unclear.[162] Moreover, as Lily Singer-Avitz and more recently Andrea Intilia have shown, and contra Ben-Yosef, Bienkowski, van der Steen, Tebes, and Levy, all Qurayyah Painted Ware dates to the 13th-early 11th centuries BC.[163]

153 Boling, *The Early Biblical Community in Transjordan*, 26; Parr, "Contacts Between Northwest Arabia and Jordan," 129; Singer-Avitz, "The Qurayyah Painted Ware," 1280, 1282; Knauf, *Midian*, 16; Tebes, "Pottery Makers and Premodern Exchange in the Fringes of Egypt," 16.

154 Zeev Meshel, "The Aharoni Fortress near Quseima and the Israelite Fortresses in the Negev," *BASOR* 294 (1994): 58.

155 Parr, "Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and Its Historical Implications," 83; contra MacDonald, "North Arabia in the First Millennium BCE," 1359.

156 As per MacDonald, "North Arabia in the First Millennium BCE," 1359; and Smith, "Early Relations of Arabia with Syria, and Particularly with Palestine," pt. 2.

157 Frants Bühl, *Geschichte der Edomiter* (Leipzig: Alexander Edelmann, 1893), 31.

158 Guillaume Charloux and Romelo Loreto, *Duma 1: 2010 Report of the Saudi-Italian-French Archaeological Project at Dumat Al-Jandal Saudi Arabia* (Riyadh: King Abdullah Project for Cultural Heritage Care, 2014), 38; Lambert, "Nabonidus in Arabia," 55; Shuaib, "The Arabs of North Arabia in Later Pre-Islamic Times," 217.

159 Charloux and Loreto, *Duma 1*, 38–39; Al-Tawil, "Early Arab Icons," 176; Shuaib, "The Arabs of North Arabia in Later Pre-Islamic Times," 255. Ernst Axel Knauf, *Ismael: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr*; 2nd ed., ADPV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 81–91 is primarly about relating this Duma material to Ishmael and Genesis 16–21.

160 Romelo Loreto, "The Role of Dumat Al-Jandal in Ancient North Arabian Routes from Pre-History to Historical Periods," in *The Archaeology of North Arabia. Oases and Landscapes*, ed. Marta Luciani (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 304–5.

161 Peter J. Parr, "Qurayyah," *ABD* 5:594–96; Dunn, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron and From Whose Hills You May Mine Copper': A Transdisciplinary Approach to the Midianite-Qenite Hypothesis," 16.

162 Hausleiter, "Pottery Groups of the Late 2nd/Early 1st Millennia BC in Northwest Arabia and New Evidence from the Excavations at Tayma," 421.

163 Singer-Avitz, "The Qurayyah Painted Ware"; Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant," *Antiquo Oriente* 12 (2014): 123–48; Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 199–210. Part of the argument to the contrary conflates Qurayyah Painted Ware with Sanaʿiye ware; Mohammad Najjar, "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century BCE Phobia? Response to Zeidan A. Kafafi, 'New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan/Jordan,"

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Several claims to the contrary must be discounted. All of the following are 13th–11th century: the fragments found at Timna (Site 2 and Layers 2 and 3 of Site 30 [perhaps out of context]; the finds at Site 200 cannot be assigned to a stratum; the finds from Site 34 confirm the early range of 11th–10th century radiocarbon dates corresponding to well-defined Iron I pottery assemblage[164]), in the Wadi Fidan, Yotvata, En Hazeva (Stratum 9), Tel Masos (one vessel from Stratum 3, wrongly placed in Stratum 2 as Yannai has shown), Ein el-Qudeirat (intrusive from Pre-Fortress phase in Area B), and Tel Gedur (last phase of the tomb).[165] The three pieces found at Lachish were in mixed debris and cannot be dated, and the same is true for the sherds from Tell el-Farah South (3 sherds), Khirbet en-Nahas,[166] Amman Airport, Amman Citadel, and Gezer.[167] The single sherd from Tawilan is too small to determine, and the gold horde at the site shows there was activity in the Iron I period.[168]

This leaves only three cases: 1) Qurayyah Painted Ware sherds found at Barqa el-Hetiye in the Feinan area, which were accompanied by a single radiocarbon dating to the 9th century, although the excavator Volkmar Fritz found no pottery later than the 11th century; 2) unpublished Qurayyah Painted Ware sherds found in a sounding at Rujm Hamra Ifdan near to the summit of the site, accompanied by 10th–9th-century radiocarbon dates but only Iron IIb pottery, and 3) a single sherd from Ghareh, a single-period site from 600 BC.[169] These are clear cases of residuality.[170]

PEQ 146 (2014), 263–80," *PEQ* 147 (2015): 250. Sanaʿiye Ware derives from but is not identical to Qurayyah Painted Ware, which it follows chronologically; Hausleiter, "Pottery Groups of the Late 2nd/Early 1st Millennia BC in Northwest Arabia and New Evidence from the Excavations at Tayma," 419–20.

164 Sabine Kleiman, Assaf Kleiman, and Erez Ben-Yosef, "Metalworkers' Material Culture in the Early Iron Age Levant: The Ceramic Assemblage from Site 34 (Slaves' Hill) in the Timna Valley," *TA* 44 (2017): 237, 242, 244, 246, 253–54; contra 251.

165 Singer-Avitz, "The Qurayyah Painted Ware," 1282–84; Singer-Avitz, "The Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant," 126–31, 137; Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 200, 203, 207; cf. Beno Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islamic," *PEQ* 131 (1999): 170.

166 Contra Smith, "Social Boundaries and State Formation in Ancient Edom," 568–69.

167 Singer-Avitz, "The Qurayyah Painted Ware," 1280, 1284; Singer-Avitz, "The Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant," 130–31, 133–36; Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 201, 204, 210; Thomas E. Levy et al., "Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom," *Antiquity* 302 (2004): 875, gives radiocarbon dates that suggest the 11th century for the QPW.

168 Singer-Avitz, "The Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant," 132–33.

169 Singer-Avitz, 134–35; Tebes, "Pottery Makers and Premodern Exchange in the Fringes of Egypt," 15, 18.

170 Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 208–9; Piotr Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom," in *The World of the Aramaeans*, ed. P.M. Michèle Daviau, John William Wevers, and Michael Weigl, JSOTSup 324–326 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 2.262 mentions this possibility in passing for the Qurayyah Ware at Tawilan, but dismisses it.

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Two decades ago, Jeff Blakely discussed "residuality" in ceramic remains, cases where pottery appears in strata from long after the pottery itself is believed to "date."[171] His examples are of pottery types with firm production dates of short duration. The first is the presence of Attic Fine Ware at Tell el-Hesi.[172] Attic Fine Ware "dates" to c.400 BC, yet eighty to ninety percent of the Attic Fine Ware found at Tell el-Hesi, even sherds found flat-lying on occupational surfaces, was found in much later strata. The other example is Caesarea, concerning Pompeian Red Ware.[173] Again, ninety percent of the Pompeian Red Ware found at Caesarea was residual in later levels. In fact, half the Pompeian Red Ware came from strata *two hundred years* after the production of Pompeian Red Ware had ceased. The corollary to this is that a large portion of the pottery from a given stratum may not be from that stratum. It may be from an occupation some two hundred years earlier. Thus, as Intilia writes, the evidence "proves without doubt that QPW existed and was in use in the 13th, 12th, and 11th centuries BCE…a continuation of this pottery tradition into the 10th century BCE seems unlikely."[174]

This range of Qurayyah Painted Ware serves to define a cultural zone that can be reasonably labeled Midian—from Yotvata, Har Shani, and Imaret el-Khureisha in the northwest to Tayma in the southeast. The presence of scattered sherds of Qurayyah Painted Ware at other sites—consistently in cultic contexts, tombs, and elite buildings—is due to their value as exotic imports, owing to their rich polychrome decorations or cultic significance, as Juan Manuel Tebes has shown.[175]

The archaeological sources for Midianite religion are therefore Tayma Phase 4 structures, the mastaba tombs at Tell el-Kheleifeh, all of Yotvata, early phases of Aynuna and Qurayyah, and the small sites in the Wadi Agharr, Wadi ʿIfdal, and Wadi Sharmah.

First, we can begin with structures. Public buildings of odd size, material, shape, and of particular orientation often are religious structures.[176] This does not mean

171 Jeffrey A. Blakely, "Toward the Study of Economics at Caesarea Maritima," in *Caesarea Maritima*, ed. Avner Raban and Kent G. Holum, DMOA 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 327–45.

172 Blakely, 333; Jeffrey A. Blakely, "Historical Geography and Its Impact on the Analysis and Publication of Excavated Ceramics in the British and American Traditions of Palestinian Archaeology" (Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1990), 240.

173 Blakely, "Toward the Study of Economics at Caesarea Maritima," 334–35.

174 Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware: A Reassessment of 40 Years of Research on Its Origins, Chronology and Distribution," 210–11.

175 Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Socioeconomic Evolution of the Negev and Southern Jordan in the Iron Age," *ASOR Newsletter*, 2005; Tebes, "Pottery Makers and Premodern Exchange in the Fringes of Egypt," 11, 15, 20–22; Tebes, "The Symbolic and Social World of the Qurayyah Pottery Iconography," 188.

176 Verhoeven, "The Many Dimensions of Ritual," 126; Kent V. Flannery and Jeremy A. Sabloff, eds., *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, rev. ed. (Walnut Creek: Left Coast, 2009), 224;

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they are necessarily shrines, in the sense of sacred to some spirit—they may be rather memorials of some sort.[177]

In the southern part of the site of Early Iron Age Qurayyah was found an elevated structure initially identified as a temple, but unexcavated.[178]

In Phase 4 Tayma, there is a large 1000 square meter paved area in Area O in the middle of the site (southwest section of the Qraya), on top of the low mound that occupies the southeast part of Compound C, around a long 12 × 19 m building (Building O-b1, situated somewhat to the western end of the paved court).[179] The paved court itself is framed by a massive, 2 m thick wall,[180] and this entire compound was remote from the core area of the settlement.[181] The corners of the building are to the compass points.[182] Around the outside of the building is a row of columns, with a double one at the entrance end.[183]

The building itself, built of sandstone blocks, is divided by partition walls, both lateral and transverse, but these are not evenly spaced, do not define cellae or naos, do not form a typical *langbau* or *knickachse* shrine.[184] These walls create rooms in the east and north of the building, leaving a central core room 11 × 8 m with the same orientation as the whole building.[185] All the walls of the outer areas of the building have square pilasters, evenly spaced 0.6 × 0.6 m pillars embedded in the walls, while the walls in the core of the building are ordinary stone walls.[186] In the northern part of the paved court is a cistern, fed by an underground channel originating outside the complex, and a deep silo sits next to the southern corner of

Caroline Malone, "Ritual Space and Structure," in *Cult in Context: Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology*, ed. David A. Barrowclough and Caroline Malone (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 24–26.

177 Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institution of Great Britain and Ireland, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*; 6th ed. (London: Routledge, 1971), 150.

178 Ingraham et al., "Preliminary Report on a Reconnaissance Survey of the Northwest Province," 73; Luciani, "Qurayyah in Northwestern Arabia."

179 Sperveslage, "Intercultural Connections between Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula at the Turn of the 2nd to the 1st Millennium BCE," 314; Martina Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 46 (2016): 237; Eichmann et al., "Tayma 2007—4th Report on the Joint Saudi-German Archaeological Project," 100; Hausleiter, "Ancient Tayma," 111.

180 Hausleiter, "Ancient Tayma," 111; Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula," 237.

181 Hausleiter and Zur, "Tayma' in the Bronze Age (c. 2,000 BCE)," 139.

182 Arnulf Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2008—5th Report on the Joint Saudi-Arabian-German Archaeological Project," *Atlal* 24, 2017.

183 Hausleiter, "L'Oasis de Tayma'," 231; Hausleiter, "The Oasis of Tayma," 230.

184 Arnulf Hausleiter, "Tayma—Eine frühe Oasensiedlung," *Archaologie in Deutschland* 3 (July 2013): 16; Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2008," 20.

185 Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula," 237; Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2009—6th Report on the Joint Saudi Arabian-German Archaeological Project," 2.

186 Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2008."

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the building.[187] There is evidence the building was destroyed by fire.[188] Calibrated radiocarbon dates for the building are 1127–916 BC.[189]

If the building were filled with standing people, it could have reasonably held over a thousand people.[190] It is more likely that the building was not meant to be filled to capacity but that it would have allowed activities and movement within. The central core room itself would comfortably accommodate 245 standing people.[191] The central room had a silt floor and small niches in the southwest wall.[192]

Inside this building were found Qurayyah Painted Ware, many chalices (cups with stems and feet and no handles; e.g., TA 8949), faience objects (TA 7917, TA 7536), an ivory comb (TA 7063; either elephant or hippo ivory, in either case imported), wood furniture finely carved with repetitive patterns of intersecting or overlapping spirals (wood also imported), wood and bone marquetry-inlaid containers, baskets, small round lens-shaped disks of ivory and of stone that the excavators identified as tokens or play counters (TA 4328, TA 4344, TA 4826, TA 4827, TA 8586, TA 8590), copper, bronze, gold (foil), and iron objects, carnelian pendants, and small Egyptian charms (Isis, Sakhmet, a monkey playing a harp) made of bone.[193]

The crafting of the bone, wood, and ivory into unusual forms—with a meaning not explicable in secular terms—is typically indicative of sacred objects.[194] The chalice form is characteristic ritual paraphernalia.[195] The Egyptian items should be seen as exotica, not evidence of significant Egyptian influence.[196]

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187 Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula," 237.

188 Renzi et al., 237.

189 Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2008."

190 G. Keith Still, "Crowd Dynamics" (Diss., University of Warwick, 2000), http://www.gkstill.com/CV/PhD/CrowdDynamics.html; G. Keith Still, *Introduction to Crowd Science* (Boca Raton: CRC, 2013), 36, 42, 48–50, 62.

191 Still, "Crowd Dynamics."

192 Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2008."

193 Arnulf Hausleiter, "Tayma, Northwest-Arabia—The Context of Archaeological Research," *Oriental Studies: A Collection of Papers on Ancient Civilizations of Western Asia, Asia Minor and North Africa* 2 (2006): 162; Hausleiter, "L'Oasis de Tayma'," 230–31, fig. 82; Eichmann et al., "Tayma—Autumn 2005 and 2006, 3rd Report on the Joint Saudi Arabian-German Archaeological Project," 101; Hausleiter, "The Oasis of Tayma," 231; Hausleiter, "Tayma—Eine frühe Oasensiedlung," 18; Sperveslage, "Intercultural Connections between Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula at the Turn of the 2nd to the 1st Millennium BCE," 314; Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula," 237; Hausleiter et al., "Tayma 2009—6th Report on the Joint Saudi Arabian-German Archaeological Project," 4.

194 Robert C. Drennan, "Religion and Social Evolution in Formative Mesoamerica," in *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, ed. Kent V. Flannery and Jeremy A. Sabloff, rev. ed. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast, 2009), 357; Colin Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (London: British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1985), 20–21.

195 Sharon R. Steadman, *The Archaeology of Religion: Cultures and Their Beliefs in Worldwide Context* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast, 2009), 44; Hausleiter, "The Oasis of Tayma," 231.

196 Luciani, "Mobility, Contacts and the Definition of Culture(s) in New Archaeological Research in Northwest Arabia," 29.

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Fig. 6.2. Tayma "Chapterhouse." Image by Christopher Irwin Design.

The architecture and the assemblage within denote this as a shrine of some sort. It is not, however, a typical Ancient Near Eastern sacred space, with increasingly guarded spaces leading to an inner sanctum.[197] It has no tables, "altars," or other permanent installations.[198] It is not some god's dwelling, as it lacks the furnishings and tableware found in other buildings identified as dwellings.[199] Assuming the structure was never full of 2000 people, the sacred space is not designed to constrict people.[200]

Thinking through what one could do in a place like this structure,[201] the function must have been more of a sort of chapterhouse than a temple. The size of the building and the open plaza around it suggest access was available to a large number of people, which in turn says something about how people themselves were perceived.[202]

197 Hausleiter, "The Oasis of Tayma," 230–31; Hausleiter, "Ancient Tayma," 113.

198 Michael B. Hundley, *Gods in Dwellings: Temples and Divine Presence in the Ancient Near East*; Writings from the Ancient World Supplements Series/Society of Biblical Literature 3 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 51–52.

199 Hundley, 12; Clifford Mark McCormick, *Palace and Temple: A Study of Architectural and Verbal Icons*, BZAW 313 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 6.

200 Peter F. Biehl, "Meanings and Functions of Enclosed Places in the European Neolithic," in *Beyond Belief: The Archaeology of Religion and Ritual*, ed. Yorke M. Rowan; Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 21 (Hoboken: American Anthropological Association, 2012), 133; Steadman, *The Archaeology of Religion*, 46.

201 Biehl, "Meanings and Functions of Enclosed Places in the European Neolithic," 141; Steadman, *The Archaeology of Religion*, 46.

202 Aldenderfer, "Envisioning a Pragmatic Approach to the Archaeology of Religion," 31–32.

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In Mesoamerica, ritual objects found in public buildings exclusively—and at this point we have no similar objects from elsewhere in Tayma—are ritual objects that many people have access to, rather than only ritual specialists.[203] Bone is an unusual material for charms and figurines, as is wood, but is impossible to tell what cultural attitudes are reflected in the choice of such mediums.[204] And while figurines are "material traces of intense ritualized ceremonies,"[205] there are too few—and none published—to unpack these.

Further examples of likely shrines are at Har Shani. Here, thirteen roughly circular open courtyards are defined by a line of fieldstones one course high.[206] Large ash pits and stone-lined basins were nearby but outside the perimeter walls.[207] Although there are remains from the Chalcolithic to the Byzantine period, most of the pottery is Iron I.[208] One such structure, 11×10.5 m, was excavated. It was constructed in the Iron I period and rebuilt in the Nabataean.[209] Artifacts found include Qurayyah Painted Ware, Red Sea shells, two oval basins 0.57 and 0.23 m high, one 0.55×0.39 m and the other 0.7×0.75 m, hematite and quartz stones, a stone vessel, a quern-stone, and a fragment of an Egyptian ushabti figurine.[210] This structure was rectangular, rather than round, with its corners oriented to the cardinal points.[211]

There is an identical structure at Tayyib al-Ism, a stone perimeter wall marking a large circle with an opening at one end, atop the summit of a mountain.[212] Given these examples that can be assigned to the LB-Iron I Midianite culture, there is good reason to add Imaret el-Khureisha (Amaret el-Hureish), a site explored by Nelson Glueck. It was dated by Glueck Late Bronze through Iron II, but

203 Flannery and Sabloff, *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, 341–43; Insoll, *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*, 83.

204 Marianna Nikolaidou, "Ritualized Technologies in the Aegean Neolithic?," in *The Archaeology of Ritual*, ed. Evangelos Kyriakidis, Cotsen Advanced Seminars 3 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2007), 191; Susan D. Gillespie, "History in Practice: Ritual Deposition at La Venta Complex A," in *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices*, ed. Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker; School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), 126.

205 Yannis Hamilakis, "Archaeology of the Senses," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Timothy Insoll; Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 214.

206 Avner, "Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts," 120–22; Uzi Avner, "Har Shani," *ESI* 1 (1982): 84.

207 Avner, "Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts," 123–24.

208 Avner, 124.

209 Avner, "Har Shani," 85.

210 Avner, "Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts," 124; Avner, "Har Shani," 85.

211 Avner, "Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts," 124.

212 Potter and Wellington, *Lehi in the Wilderness*, 39.

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nothing specific can be determined.[213] Aharoni considered this to be biblical "Hor ha-Har," which Glueck placed at Jebel el-Madera. Again on a peak, there is an elongated enclosure surrounded by a low perimeter wall, this one with four openings, one at each cardinal point.[214] There are two round stone circles, likewise only a single, low course high, one at each end of the oblong perimeter wall.[215] There were no habitations nearby, although there are both Middle Bronze I and Iron II tombs.[216]

Cardinal orientation indicates a sacred space,[217] as do remote isolated places like Har Shani and Tayyib al-Ism.[218] Although their form differs greatly from the Minoan examples (which are temples),[219] these qualify as "peak sanctuaries," defined as shrines near to the summit of a mountain, but accessible to climbers and near enough to settlements to allow regular use.[220] Presumably this is what Deut 33:2 refers to. As stone circles, they differ dramatically from European specimens, all of which have much larger stones.

Open air sanctuaries are devoted to deities who live in the sky or mountains, as the ekistics opens the worshipper to those directions,[221] or to mountains that are themselves divinized.[222] From these locations, and with the perimeter wall so low, the landscape becomes highlighted for the worshippers.[223] No one is constricted,

213 Nelson Glueck, "The Sixth Season of Archaeological Exploration in the Negeb," *BASOR* 58 (1958): 22, 25.

214 Aharoni, "Kadesh-Barnea and Mount Sinai," 139; Glueck, "The Sixth Season of Archaeological Exploration in the Negeb," 22, 25.

215 Nelson Glueck, "An Aerial Reconnaisance of the Negeb," *BASOR* 155 (1959): 6–7; Aharoni, "Kadesh-Barnea and Mount Sinai," 139–40.

216 Othmar Keel and Max Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*, vol. 2: *Der Süden* (Cologne: Benziger, 1982), 176.

217 Malone, "Ritual Space and Structure," 26.

218 Steadman, *The Archaeology of Religion*, 40.

219 On their function, see Donald W. Jones, *Peak Sanctuaries and Sacred Caves in Minoan Crete: Comparison of Artifacts*; Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-Book 156 (Jonsered, Sweden: Åström, 1999), 31–34.

220 Alan Peatfield, "The Dynamics of Ritual on Minoan Peak Sanctuaries," in *Cult in Context: Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology*, ed. David A. Barrowclough and Caroline Malone (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 297.

221 Timothy Insoll, "Sacrifice," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, ed. Timothy Insoll; Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 160; Joyce Marcus, "Rethinking Ritual," in *The Archaeology of Ritual*, ed. Evangelos Kyriakidis, Cotsen Advanced Seminars 3 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2007), 55; perhaps surprisingly, however, such deities are rarely sun gods.

222 Marcus, "Rethinking Ritual," 51, with examples from Mexico; Vega, "Weaving Together Evil Airs, Sacred Mountaintops, and War," 103, with examples from the Andes.

223 Insoll, *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*, 86–87; Steadman, *The Archaeology of Religion*, 40, 46–47.

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light and acoustics are left to nature to determine.[224] The senses are engaged by what is *outside* of the perimeter wall as much as whatever was within.[225]

Moving from structures to installations, sixty-some stone cairns about 1 × 2 m were found in the hills around Tayyib al-Ism.[226] There are cairns on Jabal Maqla above Aqaba on the Saudi-Jordanian border, especially on its western side.[227] Cairns were also found around Imaret el-Khureisha,[228] and there are cairns at Tayma and at Qurayyah that remain undated.[229] Cairns were formerly thought to be always markers of graves, and some do function this way in the Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze I Negev and 4th–3rd-millennium Jordan.[230] Ethnography shows this is not a given, however. There are late antique cairns along the ridge-top of the Wadi al-Bayir in northern Saudi Arabia with no associated graves.[231] Cairns in the Black Mountains of Wales sit either on axes paralleling rivers or on high ground, on axes oriented to mountaintops.[232] Analysis of the cairns around Loughcrew and Newgrange in Ireland, by contrast, has led to the understanding that they function with relation to the horizon, in concert with the changing light of the seasons.[233]

Just inside the gate of the fort at Yotvata was a single menhir.[234] I am consciously avoiding calling it and similar standing stones "Maṣṣebot," as most Syro-Palestinian archaeologists do, because of the biblical origin of this term. I am following a number of Jordanian archaeologists in calling them "Menhirs."[235]

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224 Biehl, "Meanings and Functions of Enclosed Places in the European Neolithic," 133; Steadman, *The Archaeology of Religion*, 46.

225 Hamilakis, "Archaeology of the Senses," 214–17.

226 Potter and Wellington, *Lehi in the Wilderness*, 40.

227 Whittaker, "The Biblical Significance of Jabal Al Lawz," 146–47, 150–51.

228 Aharoni, "Kadesh-Barnea and Mount Sinai," 139.

229 Luciani, "Qurayyah in Northwestern Arabia."

230 Richard Bradley, "The Shipping News: Land and Water in Bronze Age Scandinavia," in *Cult in Context: Reconsidering Ritual in Archaeology*, ed. David A. Barrowclough and Caroline Malone (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 210–16; Wael Abu Azizeh, "Structures cultuelles et funeraires des IV et III millenaires dans le sud Jordanien desertique," in *Pierres levées, stèles anthropomorphes et dolmens = Standing Stones, Anthropomorphic Stelae and Dolmens*, ed. Tara Steimer-Herbet, BAR International Series 2317 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 26–27, 31; Mordechai Haiman, "Cairn Burials and Cairnfields in the Negev," *BASOR* 287 (1992): 25, 27, 30–38.

231 Kerstin Eksell, *Meaning in Ancient North Arabian Carvings*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis/Stockholm Oriental Studies 17 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2002), 135.

232 Christopher Y. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments*; Explorations in Anthropology (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 124, 127, 136.

233 Tim O'Brien, *Light Years Ago: A Study of the Cairns of Newgrange and Cairn T Loughcrew, Co. Meath, Ireland* (Monkstown, Ireland: Black Cat, 1992), 7–9.

234 Avner, "Eilat Region," 1707.

235 A. Abu Shmais and H. G. Scheltema, "A Menhir Discovered at Wadi Es-Saqra, Amman District (Jordan)," in *Pierres levées, stèles anthropomorphes et dolmens = Standing Stones, Anthropomorphic Stelae and Dolmens*, ed. Tara Steimer-Herbet; BAR International Series 2317 (Oxford:

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Most discussion of such stones in the Levant relies on the theoretical work of Uzi Avner.[236] The difficulty using this work is that on the one hand, its extensive database ignores stones within settlements. On the other hand, the theoretical framework Avner and those who follow him use, while occasionally drawing on anthropologists of the 1960s and 70s,[237] operates under the assumption that the stones represent gods, each stone representing a single god, so that groups of stones illustrate pantheons.[238] The logic behind this assumption is that "Traditional societies, past and present, naturally think in a symbolic way. For them, everything symbolized something," and a heavy dose of the biblical text and classical remarks about Bedouin religion.[239] Avner does provide good comparative data: that groups of standing stones are threes, fives, sevens, nines, and sixteens, but no other numbers; that paved floors, altars, and basins regularly co-occur with stones; that most face east; and that undressed stones are found in the desert and dressed in fertile lands—and that all of these characteristics are true over a millennium of time.[240]

Elizabeth Bloch-Smith's short study of standing stones is helpful, especially in definition. A proper "standing stone" is physically higher than it is wide; it must have no functional of structural use *in situ*, and this implies it will look unlike other stones in the vicinity.[241] The actual stones she examines, however, are all located within shrines, and therefore not comparable to the one at Yotvata.[242]

To understand the menhir of Yotvata, we need to think beyond the biblical world. Menhirs throughout the world can appear singularly, as this one does,

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Archaeopress, 2012), 40–45; Abu Azizeh, "Structures cultuelles et funèraires des IV et III millènaires dans le sud Jordanien desertique."

236 Avner, "Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts"; Uzi Avner, "Sacred Stones in the Desert," *BAR* 2001.

237 Avner, "Sacred Stones in the Desert," 2001, 31 n. 6; Abu Shmais and Scheltema, "A Menhir Discovered at Wadi Es-Saqra, Amman District (Jordan)."

238 Avner, "Sacred Stones in the Desert," 2001, 31–32; Avner, "Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts," 119; Uzi Avner, "Masseboth Sites in the Negev and Sinai and Their Significance," in *Biblical Archaeology 1990*, ed. Joseph Aviram (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 167–69.

239 Avner, "Sacred Stones in the Desert," 2001, 31; Joseph Henninger, "La religion bédouine préislamique," in *L'Antica Societa Beduina*, ed. F. Gabrieli; Studi Semitici 2 (Rome: Instituto di Studi Orientali, 1959), 126–27, who was himself used, along with his citations of Maximus of Tyre and Clement of Alexandria. For critique, see Steven A. Rosen, "Desert Pastoral Nomadism in the Longue Durée," in *The Archaeology of Mobility: Old World and New World Nomadism*, ed. Hans Barnard and Willeke Wendrich, Cotsen Advanced Seminar Series 4 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2008), 121.

240 Avner, "Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts," 118; Abu Shmais and Scheltema, "A Menhir Discovered at Wadi Es-Saqra, Amman District (Jordan)," 48.

241 Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Massebot in the Israelite Cult," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day, LHB/OTS 422 (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 31–32.

242 Bloch-Smith, 32–35.

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and they can be found inside settlements.[243] Some menhirs, including some in the Ancient Near East, were painted or plastered and painted,[244] and there was a menhir in Szprotawa (Sprottau) in Poland that Classical authors say was clothed in a lion skin and venerated by the Wends (Lusatian Sorbs) as the god Flins, also venerated in the Czech Jizera Mountains and at Zörbig in Saxony. There are many plain menhirs in Aksum, from the 1st millennium BC to the 3rd century AD; only from the 1st century AD on do they mark tombs and cenotaphs,[245] comparable to the Upper Mesopotamian Bronze Age *hamûsum*.[246] Those that are not funerary sit just outside the settlements, on a hillside where they are in a clear line of sight, and that line of site may be their function.[247]

Pre-Islamic Hadhramaut, early Arab coins, and Hisham ibn al-Kalbi's *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* attest to sacred stones or *Baetyli,* some vaguely humanoid and others pyramidal, sometimes splashed with the blood of sacrifices.[248] Both the Nabataeans and Phoenicians called such a *Baetylus,* "temple of god," and the same term is used to describe the Sefire steles.[249] Pirenne proposes that the "Du" in the Nabataean divine name Dushara is not a pronoun but equivalent to *bayt*.[250] In Gen 31:13, God identifies himself as "God of Bethel" where Jacob erects a Maṣṣebah (Gen 28:16–22; 35:14–16).[251] Joshua erects a similar stone before God in Josh 24:26–28,[252] as do Samuel in 1 Sam 7:12 and the Levites in 1 Sam 6:15.[253] None of these—including Sefire—are imagined to represent the deity.[254] They are better

243 Steadman, *The Archaeology of Religion*, 191; Abu Shmais and Scheltema, "A Menhir Discovered at Wadi Es-Saqra, Amman District (Jordan)," 43.

244 Steadman, *The Archaeology of Religion*, 191; Wolfgang Röllig, "Semitische Inschriften auf Grabdenkmälern Syriens und der Levante. Formale und inhaltliche Aspekte," in *Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler östlicher Mittelmeergebiete (7. Jh. v. Chr. – 1. Jh. n. Chr.)*, ed. R. Bol et al. (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2004), 23.

245 David Phillipson, "The Significance and Symbolism of Aksumite Stelae," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 4 (1994): 189, 193, 200, 203, 205.

246 Mari Letter #29 from Yaqqim-Addu to the King, lines 4–12, and Mari Letter #30 from Dadi-Hadun to the King, lines 5–31; Jean-Marie Durand, *Le culte des pierres et les monuments commemoratifs en Syrie amorrite*, Memoires de N. A.B. U. 9 (Paris: SEPOA, 2005), 96–97.

247 Phillipson, "The Significance and Symbolism of Aksumite Stelae," 193.

248 Jacqueline Pirenne, "La religion des Arabes préislamiques d'après trois sites rupestres et leurs inscriptions," in *Al-Bahit: Festschrift Joseph Henninger zum 70. Geburtstag am 12. Mai 1976*, ed. Joseph Henninger, Studia Instituti Anthropos 28 (St. Augustin: Anthropos-Institut, 1976), 191, 197.

249 Pirenne, 195–96.

250 Pirenne, 198–99.

251 Uzi Avner, "Sacred Stones in the Desert," *BAR* (2001), 35.

252 Those erected by Absalom in 2 Sam 18:18 and Saul in 1 Sam 15:12 are oddly called "hands"; Édouard Dhorme, *L'Evolution religieuse d'Israël* (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Editions, 1937), 165.

253 Avner, "Sacred Stones in the Desert," 2001, 35.

254 Pirenne, "La Religion des Arabes préislamiques d'après trois sites rupestres et leurs inscriptions," 196–97.

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seen as miniature temples.[255] Dhorme offered a rather speculative etymology for "Mizpah," where it designates the place Jacob and Laban erect a mound (גל) of stones in Gen 31:49, as from יצף יהוה, "What Yahweh supervises."[256]

In western Tibet and Poo in the Sutlej Valley, menhirs are commonly on the margin of villages as the one at Yotvata was,[257] gates and village margins being obvious liminal zones. Standing stones at the sites of Dindun, Sa dga', and rDo Dril bu, dated to the 1st millennium BC,[258] single menhirs 0.5–2.5 m in height, are found on the margins of the sites, at the boundaries of villages, and within residential structures.[259] There are only a few such menhirs in each site, and they are accompanied by no artifacts, burials, or signs of burning.[260] Mark Aldenderfer has shown that they belong to the vernacular veneration of mountain deities.[261] From the 12th century AD to the 20th, protective gods like sGang-dmar or rTa skyong were worshipped by correlation with specific mountains as the focal points of local or regional sacred geographies.[262] "By correlation with specific mountains" is the best description, as vernacular understanding ranges from identification of the mountain *as* the god to the god residing on the mountain to the mountain acting as an icon for the god.[263] These mountain gods were also associated with the four cardinal points, to which they sent their ministers, and connected to particular lineages.[264] The free-standing menhirs at the village margins symbolically represented the protective power of the mountain deity, whose worship was also physically manifested with stone cairns and incense offerings, especially before anthropomorphic iconographic depiction of the gods

255 Pirenne, 212–13.

256 Dhorme, *L'Evolution religieuse d'Israel*, 164.

257 Aldenderfer, "Envisioning a Pragmatic Approach to the Archaeology of Religion," 30–31.

258 Mark Aldenderfer, "Domestic RDo Ring? A New Class of Standing Stone from the Tibetan Plateau," *The Tibet Journal* 28 (2003): 5.

259 Aldenderfer, 7–8.

260 Aldenderfer, 8.

261 Aldenderfer, 9–10.

262 Hildegard Diemberger and Guntram Hazod, "Machig Zhama's Recovery," in *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Toni Huber (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999), 37–38; Hildegard Diemberger, "The Horseman in Red: On Sacred Mountains of La Stod Lho (Southern Tibet)," in *Tibetan Mountain Deities, Their Cults and Representations: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*, ed. Anne-Marie Blondeau; Veröffentlichungen zur Sozialanthropologie 3 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), 52.

263 Diemberger, "Horseman in Red," 43; Samten G. Karmay, "The Cult of Mountain Deities and its Political Significance," in *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet* (Kathmandu: Mandala, 1998), 435. These are unlike Buddhist sacred mountains, which commemorate places where holy books were hidden or the saints formerly lived; Karmay, 433.

264 Diemberger, "Horseman in Red," 43, 45, 47–50, 52; Diemberger and Hazod, "Machig Zhama's Recovery," 38; Karmay, "The Cult of Mountain Deities and Its Political Significance," 432 and passim.

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developed after the arrival of Buddhism.[265] Given these broader parallels, I am more inclined to value these analogs for Midian's menhirs than to employ Avner's Neolithic desert menhir groups.

We saw in the previous chapter how mortuary evidence might contribute to the archaeology of religion. However, where mortuary data is relevant, one must consider *every* element involved, from position of the burial in the landscape to choice of soil covering the barrow to the decorative schema of the pottery included,[266] and we simply do not have this information for Midian.

Nelson Glueck discovered a tomb in the northern area of Tell el-Kheleifeh he called a mastaba, and Mussell found a second, identical tomb and dated both to Iron I.[267] The two tombs are low, rectangular buildings of mud-brick with flat roofs and slightly inclined walls. The exterior of the mud-brick was covered in granite.[268] The underground inhumation chambers contained bones of fish, birds, and camel, a millstone, mortar, and cosmetic palette.[269] Each tomb contained a single individual. While they are similar to Egyptian mastabas, the embedded barrow form occurs also at Vergina (ancient Aigai) in Hellenistic Macedon and at 4th-century BC Thracian Gagovo in Bulgaria. They provides meager information on ideology, religious or otherwise. Nothing has been published regarding the stone mausoleums of Qurayyah.

Finally, we can look at the Qurayyah Painted Ware itself. Repetitive forms in common conspicuous decorative motifs, rhythms of design, are a common sign of sacred objects, even if any symbolic meaning has been lost.[270] Although obviously not all of it would have been sacred vessels, Qurayyah Painted Ware is notable for its repeated geometric forms—bands of double series of alternate triangles, bands of two continuous chevrons, lozenges, hexagon patterns, oblique hachure, chequer, frets.[271] Naturalistic depictions are of ostriches and flying birds, and a

265 Aldenderfer, "Domestic RDo Ring?" 9–10; Diemberger, "Horseman in Red," 43–45, 50.

266 Serge Cassian, "From Underground to Extramound," in *Archaeology of Burial Mounds*, ed. Ladislav Šmejda, Jan Turek, and Henrik Thrane (Pilsen: University of West Bohemia Press, 2006), 31.

267 Mary-Louise Mussell, "Tell El-Kheleifeh," *ACOR Newsletter* (Summer 1999), 6.

268 Piotr Bienkowski, "In Search of Edomite Burials," in *Exploring the Narrative: Jerusalem and Jordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, ed. Eveline J. van der Steen, Jeannette Boertien, and Noor Mulder-Hymans, LHB/OTS 583 (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 205–6.

269 Bienkowski, 206.

270 Marcus, "Rethinking Ritual," 49; Malone, "Ritual Space and Structure," 24–26; and already Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institution of Great Britain and Ireland, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 314–15.

271 Garth Bowden and Christopher Edens, "Tayma Painted Ware and the Hejaz Iron Age Tradition," *Levant* 20 (1988): 202–6, figs. 4, 5, 10. On the precise meanings of these design terms, see Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institution of Great Britain and Ireland, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 311–14.

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few camels, bulls, ibex, and occasional people[272]—whom I see no reason to identify as shamans or sorcerors practicing sacred hunting.[273] There are remarkable similarities between the figures on the Qurayyah Painted Ware and both the rock drawings at Timna and some of the drawings from Kuntillet Ajrud.[274]

What links these characters is the desert. The ostrich is a common motif in Ancient Near Eastern iconography, particularly in the "Master of Ostriches" subgenre of the "Master of Animals" motif, although that is not present in Qurayyah Painted Ware. The ostrich, notoriously difficult to control and known to "survive mysteriously on the edge of habitable land," evoked "fear and respect for numinous powers," in the words of Othmar Keel.[275] Job 31:38–40 and Isa 13:21–22, as well as a text of Tukulti-Ninurta II (*CAD* 6.251), make the ostrich typical of the desert, as the Nubian ibex (*Capra nubiana*) is in Job 31:1; Isa 13:21–22; 34:14; and Ps 104:18.[276] Ostrich and ibex are also common animals of the hunt, which will be significant in Chapter Seven.[277] In southern Arabia, Ibex symbolized the god Ilmuquh for the Sabaeans and ʿAmm for the Qatabanites.[278] The camel, too, has numinous qualities. As Kerstin Eksell writes, "In spite of it being such a common part of daily Bedawi life, or perhaps, because of it, the camel was considered to be something more than just any animal."[279] Camel, ibex, and ostrich co-occur regularly in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry with an emblematic function (e.g., Imruʾ al-Qais, *Diwan,* Poem 134.1).[280]

Before we dismiss these as the most obvious animals they *could* have put on their pottery, we must recall that they might have included wolves, fox, hyenas,

272 Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 179–81.

273 As does Juan Manuel Tebes, "Iconography, Symbolism and Social World of the Qurayyah (Midianite) Pottery" (Paper presented to the Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting, Amsterdam, 2012), 163; Tebes, "The Southern Home of YHWH and Pre-Priestly Patriarchal/Exodus Traditions from a Southern Perspective," *Bib* 98 (2017): 169.

274 Tebes, "The Symbolic and Social World of the Qurayyah Pottery Iconography," 173, 176.

275 Othmar Keel, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 182; Tebes, "The Symbolic and Social World of the Qurayyah Pottery Iconography," 183.

276 Nevertheless, the ibex requires water for survival and is only found where surface water is always available; Mazin B. Qumsiyeh, *Mammals of the Holy Land* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1996), 210; it frequents the weathering slopes and inaccessible canyons of the rough country; Khushal Habibi, *Biology of Nubian Ibex* (Riyadh: Saudi Arabian National Commission for Wildlife Conservation and Development, 1991), 17.

277 Eksell, *Meaning in Ancient North Arabian Carvings*; David L. Harrison, *The Mammals of Arabia* (London: Ernest Benn, 1968), 2.335; Habibi, *Biology of Nubian Ibex*, 17; Knauf, *Midian*, 24.

278 Albert Jamme, *Le panthéon Sud-Arabe préislamique*; Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis Sylloge Excerptorum e Dissertationibus 15.2 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1947).

279 Eksell, *Meaning in Ancient North Arabian Carvings*, 140; Knauf, *Midian*, 24.

280 Eksell, *Meaning in Ancient North Arabian Carvings*, 143, 156; a capitol carved with ibex heads was found in the temple of Marib; Harrison, *The Mammals of Arabia*, 2.335.

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hyrax, Red Sea fish, or a host of other local wildlife.[281] The Qurayyah Painted Ware set is a selective recurrence of few animal motifs.[282]

Nevertheless, I am not sure if the iconography of Qurayyah Painted Ware relates to this ideological complex. There are far too many options—the wildlife images could just as easily be related to clan or descent groups and have nothing to do with community-wide religious views, especially since all the pottery was made at the same site.[283]

Before concluding that this is too little data for any conclusions,[284] it is important first of all to note how different the profile of Midianite religion is from either the Iron IIb religion of Tayma, Al-ʿUla, Madain Saleh, and Duma, or from Edomite religion. Iconography is minimal in the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age material, and the later material is far more discursive in both cases, even where textual inscriptions are not involved. While small sacred artifacts of the earlier period are typical for a wide range of periods and cultures, the sacred architecture—both the Tayma "chapterhouse" and the peak sanctuaries—is distinct and unlike the more Mesopotamian- and Arabian-style structures of Iron IIb northwest Arabia and the cellas and favissae of Edom.

The archaeological evidence of the sanctuaries, the menhir, and the cairns suggests the focus of divinity was "aloft," sky or mountains or horizon.[285] Given their paucity, the ushabtis at Har Shani and Egyptian figurines at Tayma could simply be prestige foreign items indicative more of status than belief.[286] This means Midian's mountain and sky deity was aniconic; there is no evidence from Midian to the contrary. All the evidence of the previous chapters suggests his name was Yahweh.[287]

281 Tebes, "The Symbolic and Social World of the Qurayyah Pottery Iconography," 190.

282 On such limited motifs, see Eksell, *Meaning in Ancient North Arabian Carvings*, 138.

283 Tebes, "The Symbolic and Social World of the Qurayyah Pottery Iconography," 188.

284 On the fact that there is no such thing as "too little data" for this sort of interpretive work, see Alan Peshkin, "The Goodness of Qualitative Research," *Educational Researcher* 22.2 (1993): 23, 28.

285 Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Archaeology of the Desert Cults and the Origins of Israel's God," *Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation Bulletin* 58 (October 2015): 13.

286 Tebes, "Iconography, Symbolism and Social World of the Qurayyah (Midianite) Pottery"; although I do not agree with him that the human figures could be sorcerors or that any of the images might represent Qaus or Yahweh.

287 The only place in the ANE where divine names exist formally only from a prefixing verbal form is in Northern Arabia, where we find Yaʿūq and Yaġūṯ; Josef Tropper, "The Divine Name *Yahwa," in *The Origins of Yahwism*, ed. Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte, BZAW 484 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 22.

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Chapter 7:
Yahweh and the Smiths

Read Vere Gordon Childe on diffusionism.
Indiana Jones, "Indiana Jones and the Crystal Skull"

As we have seen, copper metallurgy began in southwestern Transjordan at least as early as the 10th century and possibly in the 11th or even, on a small, household scale, the 12th. The workers of the copper industry were semi-nomadic peoples,[1] as mining communities are most often seasonal.[2] They may be represented by the tombs in the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery, most of which are from the 10th century but some perhaps earlier. The other major site of copper production in this period and in the immediately preceding centuries is Timna in southern Israel, which as we have seen, also showed Qurayyah Painted Ware. This chapter will review the history of metallurgy in both the Timna and Faynan regions and discuss the semi-nomadic workers of this industry and their connection to Midian. Evidence for religion at Timna will also be discussed. Next, I will present an up-to-date digest of anthropological understanding of such workers in the light of ethnographic analogy. Finally, a reconstruction will be presented, a history of how I believe Midianite smiths brought the god Yahweh into Israel.

Metallurgy in the Southern Levant

Like the chronology of Edom, the chronology of the sites around Timna has been extensively revised in recent years and continues to be debated. The best understanding of Timna requires an expanded view of Timna together with Faynan and in the light of Egyptian imperial activity.

Leaving aside 5th and 6th millennium metallurgy, Timna Sites 30 and 34 (Khirbet Meneʿiyyeh; "Slaves' Hill") were the first areas exploited, beginning in the 12th century. Older dating of Layers IV and III to the 14th century and II to the 13th/12th

1 Graeme Barker, "The Desert and the Sown: Nomad—Farmer Interactions in the Wadi Faynan, Southern Jordan," *Journal of Arid Environments* 86 (2012): 91.

2 Stephen Shennan, "Producing Copper in the Eastern Alps during the Second Millennium BC," in *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, ed. Arthur Bernard Knapp, Vincent C. Pigott, and Eugenia W. Herbert (London: Routledge, 1998), 197.

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must now be rejected.[3] Previous radiocarbon dates were contaminated by "old wood effect," and new radiocarbon dates put Layer IV in the 12th century, III in the 11th/10th.[4] Geomagnetic intensity examination of slag confirms these dates.[5] Nevertheless, as Egyptian sources record mining expeditions to Timna from the reign of Seti I, who died in 1279, and extensively under Rameses II, who died in 1213, some activity must have taken place here slightly earlier.[6] Moreover, objects from Seti I, Rameses II, Merneptah, and Seti II—all before the 12th century—have been found at Timna.[7]

Both Sites 30 and 34 were smelting camps.[8] Because it is difficult to move rock and there are poor supplies of fuel in the plains, it was customary to smelt near to the mines.[9] Qurayyah Painted Ware and Negbite Ware were found at both sites.[10] At the northeast edge of Site 34, rock steps lead up to a manmade platform 3 × 3 m, with several cup marks carved into the steps. Bowls and an apparent altar found here suggests a shrine, which Rothenberg called Bamah A.[11] A camel and rider were carved into the altar.

Ben-Yosef states that the presence of massive amounts of dung and the bone assemblage shows that adult donkeys or mules were the main work animals at

3 Erez Ben-Yosef et al., "A New Chronological Framework for Iron Age Copper Production at Timna," *BASOR* 367 (2012): 38.

4 Ben-Yosef et al., 51–53; Mohammad Najjar, "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century BCE Phobia? Response to Zeidan A. Kafafi, 'New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan/Jordan,' *PEQ* 146.4 (2014), 263–80," *PEQ* 147 (2015): 251.

5 Ben-Yosef et al., "A New Chronological Framework for Iron Age Copper Production at Timna," 57–59; Erez Ben-Yosef, "Back to Solomon's Era: Results of the First Excavation at 'Slaves' Hill' (Site 34, Timna, Israel)," *BASOR* 376 (2016): 170–71, 174.

6 Pierre Tallet, "Notes sur la zone minère du Sud-Sinaï au nouvel empire," *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archeologie orientale* 103 (2003): 469; Uzi Avner, "Eilat Region," *NEAEHL* 5.1711.

7 Beno Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islamic," *PEQ* 131 (1999): 149; Tallet, "Notes sur la zone minère du Sud-Sinaï au nouvel empire," 472–73.

8 Erez Ben-Yosef, Dafna Langgut, and Lidar Sapir-Hen, "Beyond Smelting: New Insights on Iron Age (10th c. BCE) Metalworkers Community from Excavations at a Gatehouse and Associated Livestock Pens in Timna, Israel," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 11 (2017): 411; Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islamic," 151; Ben-Yosef, "Back to Solomon's Era: Results of the First Excavation at 'Slaves' Hill' (Site 34, Timna, Israel)," 169.

9 Donald Matthews, "Artisans and Artists in Ancient Western Asia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 1.461; it is possible, however, to burn bones instead of charcoal for metallurgical purposes.

10 Ben-Yosef, "Back to Solomon's Era: Results of the First Excavation at 'Slaves' Hill' (Site 34, Timna, Israel)," 174.

11 Benno Rothenberg, *Timna; Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines*; New Aspects of Antiquity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), 117.

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the site and that camels were unknown.[12] Bones from Site 30, however, were predominately those of sheep and goats with a few cattle, camels, and donkeys or mules.[13] But the 83 camel bones from Site 30 constitute one of the largest samples of camel bones from any site of the Iron Age in all the Middle East.[14] Grigson's analysis shows these to have been domesticated dromedaries.[15] The age distribution of camel bones is indicative of long-distance merchant caravan use.[16] Her analysis of the equid remains shows them to have been small donkeys, not mules.[17]

The animals were fed with hay, which could not have been grown at Timna and probably had to come from the Mediterranean region.[18] The presence of grape pomace, fruit and grain remains, and Mediterranean fish bones confirms this.[19]

Aside from a small section of Site 34 (Area 21), there is no evidence of residences at Timna, which suggests the workers resided in tents below the hills—not only the miners but also refiners, prostitutes, con artists, and petty crooks.[20] From the Egyptian perspective, Timna—their "Mount Atika" (Papyrus Harris 1, 408)—was under their overall control.[21] A massive amount of Egyptian artifacts were found at Timna: pottery and graffito portraying chariots from Site 212, pottery and Nile fish bones from Site 2, and votives and texts mentioning Seti I–II, Merneptah, Twosret, and Rameses II–V from Site 200, where 27 % of the items from the Hathor shrine were Egyptian.[22] Copper products produced at Timna were transported to Egypt both via the port on Jazirat Faraun and over land.[23] The existence of an overland route from Timna to Aqaba to the Ramesside fort at Kom el-Qulzoum is confirmed by rock-cut cartouches of Rameses III found at the wells

12 Ben-Yosef, Langgut, and Sapir-Hen, "Beyond Smelting," 421–22.

13 Caroline Grigson, "Camels, Copper and Donkeys in the Early Iron Age of the Southern Levant," *Levant* 44 (2012): 84.

14 Grigson, 85.

15 Grigson, 85–87.

16 Grigson, 88.

17 Grigson, 89–92.

18 Ben-Yosef, Langgut, and Sapir-Hen, "Beyond Smelting," 421, 423.

19 Ben-Yosef, Langgut, and Sapir-Hen, 424.

20 Ben-Yosef, Langgut, and Sapir-Hen, 422; Ben-Yosef, "Back to Solomon's Era: Results of the First Excavation at 'Slaves' Hill' (Site 34, Timna, Israel)," 186; cf. Uzi Avner, "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes, ANESSup 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 141.

21 Beno Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 1: Late Pottery Neolithic to Early Bronze IV," *PEQ* 131 (1999): 68–69; Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islamic," 149.

22 Gregory Mumford, "The Sinai Peninsula and Its Environs: Our Changing Perceptions of a Pivotal Land Bridge Between Egypt, the Levant, and Arabia," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7 (2015): 10; contra Avner, "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered," 2014, 134.

23 Tallet, "Notes sur la zone minère du Sud-Sinaï au nouvel empire," 478–79.

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of Borot Roded,[24] and another overland route passed from Timna to Ein Quseima and Ein el-Qudeirat, then via Al-Kuntilla towards Egypt.[25]

At the same time, the workers at Timna would have been largely local. Inscriptions from the amethyst mines at Wadi el-Hudi and the Sinai copper, turquois, and malachite mines show that local inhabitants provided most of the Egyptian workforce at these sites, in one case at a 140:1 ratio of locals to Egyptians.[26] The abundance of Qurayyah Painted Ware in the area where the tents would have been indicates they were Hejazi or Midianite.[27]

Timna Sites 2 and 200 then come into use, still in the Iron I period, unless recent evidence pushes Site 2 back into the earlier period.[28] Qurayyah Painted Ware and Negbite Ware were found at Site 2.[29] Furnaces were found in Site 2's Areas C, E, and G.[30] In Area A of Site 2, there was a structure on the south edge identified as a shrine: a 9 × 8 m oblong building with entrance on the east.[31] Flanking the entrance was a low stone bench, perhaps for offerings, and along the western wall was a row of five large menhirs with a sandstone bowl in front of them. A large square block, perhaps an altar, stood in the center of the room, and two annexes along the outer walls were filled with ash and goat bones.

Another possible shrine was in Area F, on a hilltop 70m to the west. This locus is a 5 × 3 m oval barrow 0.5 m high, paved on the top. Associated artifacts include Qurayyah Painted Ware, faience, carnelian, mica, and glass items, copper and

24 Mumford, "The Sinai Peninsula and Its Environs: Our Changing Perceptions of a Pivotal Land Bridge Between Egypt, the Levant, and Arabia," 10.

25 Pierre Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I, BM 9999*; Bibliothèque d'étude 109/1–2.129 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1994), 2.263.

26 Ian Shaw, "Exploiting the Desert Frontier," in *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, ed. Arthur Bernard Knapp, Vincent C. Pigott, and Eugenia W. Herbert (London: Routledge, 1998), 247.

27 Juan Manuel Tebes, "Socio-Economic Fluctuations and Chiefdom Formation in Edom, the Negev and the Hejaz during the First Millennium BCE," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes, ANESSup 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 12.

28 Sabine Kleiman, Assaf Kleiman, and Erez Ben-Yosef, "Metalworkers' Material Culture in the Early Iron Age Levant: The Ceramic Assemblage from Site 34 (Slaves' Hill) in the Timna Valley," *TA* 44 (2017): 255–56.

29 Tali Erickson-Gini, "Decorated and Plain Ceramic Wares and Beads from Recent Excavations in Timna, Site 2" (Paper presented at Mining for Copper: Environment, Culture and Copper in Antiquity, Timna, Israel, 2013); Tali Erickson-Gini and Juan Manuel Tebes; "Timna Site 2 Revisited," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes, ANESSup 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 64.

30 Beno Rothenberg, "Timna'," *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 1480.

31 Rothenberg, 1479; Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islamic," 158.

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iron jewelry and implements, ostrich eggs, goat horns, and Red Sea shells.[32] The excavators believe copper votive implements were ritually cast here by the workers, and it is tempting to liken these to the assorted ritual paraphernalia kept in small baskets called *intangala* by the Fipa of Tanzania (see below), said to be the soul of the smelting process and the possession of which gives the smith supreme knowledge about iron smelting.[33] The evidence that this is a ritual site at all is limited, however, absent the evidence found at Site 34, for example. It is impossible to tell how this location functioned.

Site 200 contains a temple to Hathor. This temple was erected, intentionally destroyed and then repaired, then destroyed by an earthquake and significantly redesigned.[34] Thus, in the first and second phase, we have a Late Bronze Age variety of a Hathor temple, while after the earthquake something different in the Iron I period (see below).[35] The current excavators believe the site was originally a "local, desert shrine" modified by the Egyptians.[36] The pillar that represents Hathor is identical to one at Serabit el-Khadem, however,[37] and there is no evidence that the Timna temple existed prior to the installation of the Hathor pillar. Contrary to the statements of Uzi Avner,[38] the temple itself resembles Egyptian examples in Nubia,[39] and its artifacts included Horus-the-child, Khobsu, Bastet, and Sekhmet-Mut amulets, Egyptian seals, sistra, throw sticks, ushabtis, and Nile mollusks.[40]

The first and second phases of the temple produced Qurayyah Painted Ware, Negbite Ware, votive objects of gold, glass, alabaster, bronze (a ram), tin (a penis), and shell.[41] After the earthquake, all the hieroglyphics and references to Hathor were effaced and all the Egyptian items deposited in the northwest corner of the

32 Rothenberg, "Timnaʿ," 1481; Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islamic," 158.

33 Gunnar Haaland, Randi Haaland, and Suman Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," *Anthropos* 97 (2002): 43.

34 Rothenberg, "Timnaʿ," 1476, 1482–83; Stefan Wimmer, "(No) More Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai," in *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology*, ed. Irene Shirun-Grumach, Ägypten und altes Testament 40 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 88.

35 Kleiman, Kleiman, and Ben-Yosef, "Metalworkers' Material Culture in the Early Iron Age Levant," 257.

36 Uzi Avner, "Egyptian Timna Reconsidered" (Paper Presented to the Conference Mining for Copper: Environment, Culture and Copper in Antiquity, Timna, Israel, 2013). Juan Manuel Tebes claims Hathor was worshipped as protector of miners but offers no textual support for this assertion; "Southern Home," 168.

37 Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islamic," 170.

38 Avner, "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered," 2014, 122–23.

39 Wimmer, "(No) More Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai," 89.

40 Mumford, "The Sinai Peninsula and Its Environs," 10.

41 Rothenberg, "Timnaʿ," 170; Thomas Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*, OBO 107 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1991), 230.

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courtyard outside the temple.[42] The temple was redesigned with a bench along the interior wall by the entrance, menhirs erected along the west wall, and the central niche left empty. Heavy red-and-yellow cloth with beads woven into it was found, which together with postholes in the courtyard suggests a tent shrine.[43] In the temple was found a copper snake with a gold head, while in the courtyard were copper objects—sheep, earrings, a penis—some still in their molds—possibly a ritual casting location as may have existed at Site 2 Area F.[44]

The excavators have taken this phase to be that of a purely local shrine, in contrast to the Hathor temple, which would suggest that the original temple was not a local shrine.[45] The first two temples are best understood as a mixed cult, both in terms of import of Egyptian religion and in terms of local elite emulation. In many ways, this is a hybrid of a standard Egyptian temple and the peak sanctuaries discussed in the previous chapter.[46]

Another cultic site is at Timna Site 198. Here sherds of Qurayyah Painted Ware were found along with a menhir positioned on top of a flat table with a shallow cup mark carved into its surface. Rothenberg also interpreted this site as a place of "ritual casting."[47]

Three additional copper mines have been discovered near to the former Etzion Air Force Base now across the Sinai border in Egypt, with activity dated to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.[48]

Yotvata, as we have seen, was primarily responsible for supplying Timna with water and fuel. Copper slag, and ash, charcoal, and slag found there were *beneath* the fortress wall and therefore belong to Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age copper production.[49]

As the 10th century progressed, Timna continued in operation,[50] but was quickly eclipsed in production capacity by operations in Faynan, which had also

42 Rothenberg, "Timnaʿ," 1483; Rothenberg, "Archaeo-Metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990: Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islamic," 172.

43 Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*, 230–31, fig. 20.

44 Jacob E. Dunn, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron and From Whose Hills You May Mine Copper': A Transdisciplinary Approach to the Midianite-Qenite Hypothesis" (Diss., Penn State University, 2015), 18.

45 Avner, "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered," 2014.

46 Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Archaeology of the Desert Cults and the Origins of Israel's God," *Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation Bulletin* 58 (October 2015): 14.

47 Rothenberg, *Timna; Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines*, 118–19.

48 Uzi Avner, "Studies in the Material and Spiritual Culture of the Negev and Sinai Populations, During the 6th-3rd Millennia" (Diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002), 43.

49 Avner, 47.

50 William Ondricek, Assaf Kleiman, Sabine Kleiman, and Erez Ben-Yosef, "Early Edomite Fabrice and Cultural Connections," paper presented at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting (Denver, 2018).

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seen activity centuries earlier.[51] "The discovery of tuyères, fragments of furnace walls, and slag and furnace installations at Faynan and Dana, as well as Qurayyah and Negebite [Negbite] pottery [all] identical to the Late Bronze material from Timna," as Juan Manuel Tebes notes, suggest "that there possibly existed a mutual exchange of labour, technology and information" between the Timna and Faynan operations.[52] Nevertheless, recent analysis of metal objects from Philistine Ashkelon and from the Negev found them all to derive from Faynan ores, none from Timna.[53]

Khirbet en-Nahas became the largest copper smelting facility in the entire southern Levant, much larger than Timna.[54] Nearby Khirbet al-Jariya was another large copper production site, second only to Khirbet en-Nahas.[55] Radiocarbon dates for the site are 976 and 829 from the slag heap, 888–787 from charcoal, 892–777 from seeds.[56] Levy and his colleagues claim Bayesian modeling gives dates 1092–933, but their raw data puts the *start* of the site between 1075 and 1000.[57] The sites in the Wadi Faynan are primarily devoted to production, although some mining also took place here.[58] Deep mines and vast pit mine fields were located in the Wadi Khalid (e.g., Mine 42, ^{14}C dated to 1187 BC), Wadi Dana (^{14}C date 939), Wadi Abiad, Wadi Jariya, and Wadi al-Ghuwaybe (there is also evidence of smelting at the latter).[59]

51 James D. Muhly, "Copper and Tin," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 43 (1973): 215.

52 Tebes, "Socio-Economic Fluctuations and Chiefdom Formation in Edom, the Negev and the Hejaz during the First Millennium BCE," 7; so, too Erez Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process: Oscillations in Iron Age Copper Production and Power in Southern Jordan" (Diss., University of California, San Diego, 2010), 955–56.

53 I. Segal et al., "Provenance of Ancient Metallurgical Artifacts: Implications of New Pb Isotope Data from Timna Ores," *Metalla* 4 (2011): 284.

54 Thomas E. Levy and et al., "Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom," *Antiquity* 302 (2004): 867–69.

55 Thomas E. Levy, Erez Ben-Yosef, and Mohammad Najjar, "New Perspectives on Iron Age Copper Production and Society in the Faynan Region, Jordan," in *Eastern Mediterranean Metallurgy and Metalwork in the Second Millennium BC*, ed. Vasiliki Kassianidou and Giōrgos Papasavvas (Oxford: Oxbow, 2012), 206.

56 Erez Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant," *Antiquity* 84 (2010): 727, 733–34.

57 Ben-Yosef et al., 736, 742.

58 Andreas Hauptmann, "Mining Archaeology and Archaeometry in the Wadi Arabah," in *Crossing the Rift: Resources, Settlement Patterns, and Interaction in the Wadi Arabah*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski and Katharina Galor, Levant Supplement 3 (Oxford: Council for British Research in the Levant, 2006), 128.

59 Levy, Ben-Yosef, and Najjar, "New Perspectives on Iron Age Copper Production and Society in the Faynan Region, Jordan," 210–11; Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant," 725; Sarah M. Harvey, "The Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom" (Diss., University of Michigan, 1999), 251; Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process," 466–74.

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Although it is less expensive to smelt near mines than to transport ore, Akkadian texts often speak of transporting ore or unrefined matte ingots (*urudu*).[60] Copper ore was transported to Khirbet en-Nahas, Khirbet al-Jariya, Khirbet Hamrat Ifdan (M. R. 1800.001), and Khirbet Faynan, where the foundries were located.[61] Here smelting, refining, melting, and casting took place. The slag found was charcoal-rich, unlike the slag of Middle Bronze I copper metallurgy in Faynan, meaning a new technology had arisen, capable of processing far larger quantities of ore.[62] At the same time, there were hundreds of small smelting furnaces at sites throughout the Jabal Hamrat Fidan area, especially in the Wadi Fidan, all radiocarbon dated to the 10th and 9th centuries.[63] Pollen remains show the furnaces were fueled with tamarisk, acacia, and saxaul wood.[64] Acacia was the most common tree of the region, and makes a good fuel that burns slowly and with little smoke.[65] The final products were then exported to En Hazeva (although this had its own small smelting installation),[66] Tell el-Kheleifeh, and elsewhere.[67] Shirly Ben-Dor Evian argues that the fact of Kadesh Barnea's having the highest frequency of Negbite pottery beyond the Wadi Faynan in Iron II, some of it containing copper slag, implicates it in the copper distribution network.[68]

Smaller production also begins in the Nahal Amram (Wadi Amrani). A number of copper mines are present here, as well as several to the wadi's southwest, some with Qurayyah Painted Ware.[69] Area D of Site 38 in the Nahal Amram is the

60 Daniel T. Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization: The Material Foundations*; Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies (London: Athlone, 1997), 168–69.

61 Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant," 725.

62 Graeme Barker, "Farmers, Herders and Miners in the Wadi Faynan, Southern Jordan," in *The Archaeology of Drylands: Living at the Margin*, ed. Graeme Barker and D. D. Gilbertson; One World Archaeology 39 (London: Routledge, 2000), 76.

63 Thomas E. Levy and et al., "Early Metallurgy, Interaction and Social Change," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 45 (2001): 174–76, 180–81.

64 Chris O. Hunt, David D. Gilbertson, and Hwedi A. El-Rishi, "An 8000-Year History of Landscape, Climate, and Copper Exploitation in the Middle East: The Wadi Faynan and the Wadi Dana National Reserve in Southern Jordan," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34 (2007): 1323–29.

65 Sharif Harir, "Adaptive Forms and Process Among the Hadendowa," in *Survival on Meagre Resources: Hadendowa Pastoralism in the Red Sea Hills*, ed. Leif O. Manger (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1996), 46–47; Mohamed Tawfic Ahmed, ed., *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: El Maghara, Northern Sinai, Egypt* (Nairobi: UNEP, 2010), 45.

66 Mumford, "The Sinai Peninsula and Its Environs: Our Changing Perceptions of a Pivotal Land Bridge Between Egypt, the Levant, and Arabia," 11.

67 Levy, Ben-Yosef, and Najjar, "New Perspectives on Iron Age Copper Production and Society in the Faynan Region, Jordan," 211.

68 Shirly Ben-Dor Evian, "Follow the Negebite Ware Road," in *Rethinking Israel: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Ancient Israel in Honor of Israel Finkelstein*, ed. Oded Lipschitz, Yuval Gadot, and Matthew Adams (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 20.

69 Uzi Avner and et al., "Ancient Copper Mines at Nahal Amram," *Negev, Dead Sea and Arava Studies* 7, no. 4 (2014): 100; Erickson-Gini and Tebes, "Timna Site 2 Revisited," 78.

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main entry to a vast underground complex of mines.[70] Site 33 shows evidence for smelting.[71]

Finally, a word should be said about other metals. A hoard of twenty-some gold objects was found in Phase 5, Area 2 of Tawilan.[72] Although the gold could have been imported from Anatolia or Egypt,[73] Zohar Amar has made an argument for gold production in the Arabah itself. At seventeen sites in the Wadi Tawahin, radiocarbon dated to 900 BC, anvils, hammers, and gold dust were discovered.[74] Gold-bearing quartz would have been crushed, soaked in mercury or borax (Akk. *sùgan*) and purified by fire, and there is evidence from the Persian Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam (10th century AD) and later Arabic sources of this taking place in this region.[75] In addition, there are two different gold lodes in Midian, and these were known in antiquity (Strabo, *Geography,* 16.4.26 cap. 784).[76] Gold refining is known to the author of Job 28:1–2, and goldsmithing (צרף) is ubiquitous (e.g., Isa 40:19; 41:7).

The metal most frequently mentioned in the Bible is silver.[77] Silver is produced from lead ore, which can also be used as lead. Although most silver in Mesopotamia came from Anatolia,[78] there is lead ore and galena rich in silver in Midian (Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.26 cap. 784), as well as a lesser lode southeast of the Dead Sea.[79] Since throughout history, "even the slightest deposits of argentiferous ore were seized upon avidly and worked eagerly,"[80] and the author of Job 28:1–2 is aware of silver mining activity, its exploitation must have began at least by the Iron II period.

There are many small iron objects from Timna: rods, earrings, tubes, etc. Since it is easy to produce iron accidentally while smelting copper, Waldbaum suggests

70 Lynn Willies, "Ancient Copper Mining at Wadi Amran, Israel," *Peak District Mines Historical Society Bulletin* 11 (1991): 122–33.

71 Willies, 109, 113.

72 Crystal -M. Bennett and Piotr Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*; British Academy Monographs in Archaeology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 69 (Jack Ogden chapter).

73 Bennett and Bienkowski, 78.

74 Zohar Amar, "Gold Production in the Arabah Valleh in the Tenth Century," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 101.

75 Amar, 101–2.

76 R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1950), 147–48.

77 Ellen J. van Wolde, "Wisdom, Who Can Find It?" in *Job 28: Cognition in Context*, ed. Ellen J. van Wolde; Biblical Interpretation 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 27. There is no reason to identify עפר as copper ore, as per Nissim Amzallag and Shamir Yona, "The Kenite Origin of the Sotah Prescription (Numbers 5.11–31)," *JSOT* 41 (2017): 383–412.

78 Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization*, 179.

79 Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, 187.

80 Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 118.

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iron smelting might have been "discovered" at Timna.[81] Nevertheless, iron mining is described in Job 28:1–2. There are iron lodes in the Makhtesh Ramon and Makhtesh Gadol area southwest of the Dead Sea and along the Arabah, although no evidence of smelting exists before the 10th century BC.[82]

There are many reasons to connect this Timna and Faynan metallurgy to northwest Arabia. In both the Faynan and Timna operations, the workers were a semi-nomadic people. The pottery of Timna, which is the earlier of the two, is either Egyptian, Negbite, or Qurayyah Painted Ware, which was also abundant at Yotvata, Timna's main support site. The Qurayyah Painted Ware was all manufactured in northwest Arabia and brought to the mining centers, but it is not represented by trade vessels and so must have come with the workers themselves.

As we have seen, there was copper production taking place at Qurayyah, although there is no evidence to date for metallurgy at Tayma.[83] Lead isotope analysis of copper from Qurayyah and Tayma shows that the copper did not come from the mines of Timna and Faynan, but in some cases from the Arabian-Nubian Shield in southwest Arabia and in others from either Oman or the Sinai Peninsula.[84]

However, many of the copper artifacts from Tayma contain lead or tin, although the amount of tin is insufficient to merit calling the products proper bronze.[85] Akkadian sources suggest tin (*nagga*) was an expensive import from Elam, India, Central Asia, or Anatolia,[86] and Mari texts say Palestine imported tin.[87] Nevertheless, the presence of noticeable amounts of arsenic, which is highly volatile in oxidizing conditions, means the tin was not the product of recycling and remelting bronze scrap, but resulted from an impurity in the original copper.[88] Scanning electron microscopy with X-ray microanalysis (SEM-EDS) of this copper shows two places of origin. One group matches lodes in Oman, as discussed above; the

81 Jane C. Waldbaum, "The Coming of Iron in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *The Archaeometallurgy of the Asian Old World*, ed. Vincent C. Pigott; University Museum Monograph 89 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1999), 30–31.

82 T. Stech-Wheeler et al., "Iron at Taanach and Early Iron Metallurgy in the Eastern Meditteranean," *AJA* 85 (1981): 259.

83 Martina Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 46 (2016): 239; Arnulf Hausleiter and Alina Zur, "Tayma' in the Bronze Age (c. 2,000 BCE)," in *The Archaeology of North Arabia. Oases and Landscapes*, ed. Marta Luciani (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 158.

84 Siran Liu et al., "Copper Processing in the Oases of Northwest Arabia: Technology, Alloys and Provenance," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 53 (2015): 498–99, 501.

85 Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula," 241.

86 Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization*, 170–71.

87 Muhly, "Copper and Tin," 258.

88 Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula," 241.

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other points to an origin in the Timna-Faynan mines.[89] Travel between Tayma and the Palestinian metal works went both directions.

So the workers of Timna, and perhaps the semi-nomadic workers of Faynan, as well, can be identified as the "Midianites" of Chapter One. It is tempting to add the extensive religious remains from Timna to the outline of Midianite religion given in that chapter. Site 34 resembles a peak sanctuary, brought close to the site by placing it on a small hill, and Site 198 resembles both this and the menhir of Yotvata. Area F of Site 2 may also be a shrine, in which case it belongs to this same class. Site 2 Area A's shrine, however, is distinctively different, as is both the Hathor temple and its later incarnation as a tent shrine. I am happy to include these alongside the previous chapter, but reluctant to use them to form conclusions about Midianite religion primarily because of the Egyptian "interference." The sample is "contaminated," in a sense, and Serabit el-Khadem shows that we cannot be sure of what is "pure" Midianite, free from the influence of Egypt and of workers of other nationalities that the Egyptians no doubt employed in moving the products of the copper industry back to Egypt.

The Anthropology of Metallurgy

We have seen in Chapter One that biblical scholars and historians of ancient Israel frequently made use of anthropological generalizations about smiths and metallurgy, and that these generalizations were often based on informal observations of colonial administrators and missionaries of the late 19th and early 20th century.[90] In spite of this, anthropological and archaeological studies of mining and metalworking, of smiths and tinkers—especially in Africa—are of great value, since ethnographic analogy can help us understand the contexts of the social processes involved in the "Midianite" mediation of Yahwism into Israel.[91] To be

89 Renzi et al., 242.

90 Edward E. Evans Pritchard, "Some Reminiscences and Reflections on Fieldwork (Appendix IV)," in *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*, ed. Edward E. Evans-Pritchard and Eva Gillies, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 8; Sandra Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy in Ancient Greece and Recent Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 56, 64; Peter R. Schmidt, *Iron Technology in East Africa: Symbolism, Science, and Archaeology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 1; Michael Bollig, "Hunters, Forgers, and Singing Smiths," in *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*, ed. Joseph C. Berland and Aparna Rao (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2004), 196–98. An example of such faulty generalization is Laura Makarius, "The Blacksmith's Taboos," *Diogenes* 62 (1968): 26–29.

91 J. Mason, "Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way," *Qualitative Research* 6 (2006): 16. Copper metallurgy began in Africa in the 13th century BC and iron in the 11th, although scholars are unsure if it diffused from Egypt, Arabia, Spain, or was invented independently;

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clear, this comparison will rely on primary, recent (post-1950) anthropological data from societies identified as cases of similar processes that lead to similar results in multiple cultures.[92] Such primary accounts should and will be used not as evidence for "beliefs" but as accounts of "situations in which supernatural tradition was actualized and began directly to influence behavior."[93] Accounts of legends need be taken with even more caution, not because old evidence is faulty—in fact it is often more authentic than recent collection—but because they often appear in areas where the given "belief" is absent from the society's belief discourse and personal experience.[94] In what follows, I use the "ethnographic present" although that usage entails some problems: it erases all change in these cultures into a rather ethnocentric "fossilized primitive," and in in many cases traditional metallurgy and many of the customs described ceased decades ago.[95]

The early stereotype of the African smiths was of an itinerant despised caste, and this was based on limited and uninformed observation of a small set of communities.[96] At times, this perception arose from the fact that those questioned about smiths were those in conflict with the smiths.[97] In other situations, the "joking relationships" found in Bambara, Mandinka, Fula, Wolof, Songhai, and

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Patrick R. McNaughton, "A Little Metal Object of Provocative Potential: Rethinking Early Metalurgy [Sic]," in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Mande Studies: Online Edition*, ed. Mohamed Diaby (Bamako: Presses universitaires du Sahel, 2014), n.p., www.editionslasahelienne.net.

92 Michael Ernest Smith and Peter Peregrine, "Approaches to Comparative Analysis in Archaeology," in *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies*, ed. Michael Ernest Smith (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 14–15.

93 Lauri Honko, "Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 1 (1964): 9–10, n.16.

94 Honko, 12–13.

95 Nikolaas J. van der Merwe and Donald H. Avery, "Science and Magic in African Technology: Traditional Iron Smelting in Malawi," *Africa* 57 (1987): 147; Dominique Casajus, *La tente dans la solitude: La société et les morts chez les Touaregs Kel Ferwan*; Atelier d'anthropologie sociale 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 221; Candice L. Goucher and Eugenia W. Herbert, "The Blooms of Banjeli: Technology and Gender in West African Iron Making," in *The Culture and Technology of African Iron Production*, ed. Peter R. Schmidt (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 51; William J. Dewey, "Continuity and Change in the Anthropology of Metalworking among the Shona" (Paper presented to the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, 1988). Marcia Wright, "Iron and Regional History: Report on a Research Project in Southwestern Tanzania," *African Economic History* 14 (1985): 150, notes that smelting in southern Africa had largely disappeared by the First World War.

96 Patrick R. McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths: Knowledge, Power, and Art in West Africa*; Traditional Arts of Africa 798 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 8–9; Philip de Barros, "Iron Metallurgy," in *Ancient African Metallurgy*, ed. M. S. Bisson et al. (Walnut Creek: Altamira, 2000), 174; see examples in Makarius, "The Blacksmith's Taboos," 25–26.

97 Susan J. Rasmussen, *Neighbors, Strangers, Witches, and Culture-Heroes: Ritual Powers of Smith/Artisans in Tuareg Society and Beyond* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2015), 49, 68.

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Shona societies led observers to mistake the insults hurled at blacksmiths—in truth a form of alliance—for defamation.[98] In many cases, blacksmiths' supernatural faculties were kep hidden from prying Westerners seemingly bent on one more colonial power-grab.[99] And finally, the period early ethnographers were observing was in some ways unique: specific ethnic background as prerequisite for smelting had only risen to prominence in Tanzania in the 1920s, for example.[100] Nevertheless, although characteristics of smith groups varies far more than was believed a century ago, there remains a remarkable similarity across the continent. As Walter van Beek writes, "Metal in Africa is never alone."[101]

In some cases, smiths do constitute their own endogamous ethnic groups, as among the Tuareg, the Mauri of Mauritania, the Teda of Chad, the Mafa and Kapsiki of Cameroon, the Fula, Hausa, Wolof, Mandinka, and Soninke of West Africa, and the Maasai and Samburu of Kenya.[102] The Songhai have two smith clans, the "Red" who share characteristics with most groups discussed below

98 McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths*, 1993, 10; Mwelwa C. Musambachime, *Fire-Eaters* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2016), 27; Walter E. A. van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral: The Smith in Kapsiki/Higi Culture*; African History and Culture (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015), 48.

99 McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths*, 1993, 13.

100 Wright, "Iron and Regional History," 156.

101 Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 21.

102 de Barros, "Iron Metallurgy," 175; Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 40; Rasmussen, *Neighbors, Strangers, Witches, and Culture-Heroes*, 57, 107; Susan J. Rasmussen, "Afflictions of the Stomach: Smith as 'Stranger' among the Tuareg," in *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*, ed. Joseph C. Berland and Aparna Rao (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2004), 103; Mariella V. Cervello, "'They Work to Eat and They Eat to Work': M'allemin Craftsmen, Classification, and Discourse among the Bidan Nobility of Mauritania," in *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*, ed. Joseph C. Berland and Aparna Rao (Westport, CN: Praeger, 2004), 125, 137; Bollig, "Hunters, Forgers, and Singing Smiths," 199–201; Tal Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," in *The Character of Kingship*, ed. Declan Quigley (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 158; Carl T. Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change and Sociocultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya" (Diss., SUNY Buffalo, 1977), 96; Guy Nicolas, *Dynamique sociale et appréhension du monde au sein d'une société Hausa*; Travaux et mémoires de l'institut d'ethnologie 78 (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1975), 304; Catherine Baroin, *Anarchie et cohésion sociale chez les Toubou: Les Daza Késherda (Niger)*; Collection production pastorale et société (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 70, 187; Eric Pollet and Grace Winter, *La société Soninke*; Institut de sociologie, etudes ethnologiques 4 (Brussels: Editions de l'université de Bruxelles, 1971), 232–33; Johannes Nicolaisen and Ida Nicolaisen, *The Pastoral Tuareg,* Carlsberg Foundation Nomad Research Project (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 57, 61; Nicholas David and Ian Robertson, "Competition and Change in Two Traditional African Iron Industries," in *The Culture and Technology of African Iron Production*, ed. Peter R. Schmidt (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 129–30; Abdoulaye-Bara Diop, *La société Wolof* (Paris: Karthala, 1981), 34, 40, 65–68, 74–75.

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and the "Black," descended from captured slaves.[103] In the case of the Mafa of Cameroon, at least four different legends offer explanations for the distinct class of the smiths.[104] Kapsiki smiths are in reality endogamous, with their entire lineage coming from outside the local villages, but they are given patronage by non-smiths, who adopt them into their own lineages as sons.[105]

This endogamy often functions practically, so that skills and knowledge may be kept as secret as possible.[106] In other places, smiths may intermarry freely, as among the Teke and Hungana of the Congo, the Mundang of Chad-Cameroon, and the Hausa of Nigeria.[107]

In many societies, the smith profession is immune in wartime (e.g., the Tuareg and Teda of Niger, Shona of Zambia, Kapsiki of Cameroon),[108] and sometimes because of this, marriage with smiths is rare.[109] The nature of their craft thus creates intra-ethnic endogamous lineages, in which smiths from one culture may marry smiths from another.[110] The initially-endogamous Musina copper-miners' clan, having migrated from the mines of Phalaborwa to those on the South Afri-

103 Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, *Les sociétés Songhay-Zarma, Niger-Mali*, Hommes et sociétés (Paris: Karthala, 1984), 57.

104 Jean-Yves Martin, *Les Matakam du Cameroun*; Mémoires ORSTOM 41 (Paris: Office de la recherche scientifique et technique Outre-Mer, 1970), 78–80. The situation is similar for the Teda; Monique Brandily, *Instruments de musique et musiciens instrumentistes chez les Teda du Tibesti*; Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika Annalen 8/Menselijke Wetenschappen 82 (Tervuren: Musée royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1974), 131.

105 Van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 46, 246.

106 Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 41; Philip J. Jaggar, *The Blacksmiths of Kano City: A Study in Tradition, Innovation and Entrepreneurship in the Twentieth Century*; Westafrikanische Studien 2 (Cologne: Köppe, 1994), 10; Andrew Reid and Rachel MacLean, "Symbolism and the Social Contexts of Iron Production in Karagwe," *World Archaeology* 27 (1995): 157. Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy in Ancient Greece and Recent Africa*, 171–73 notes examples among the Wolof, Soninke, and Bambara.

107 de Barros, "Iron Metallurgy," 153; Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 47; Bollig, "Hunters, Forgers, and Singing Smiths," 201; Jan Vansina, *The Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo, 1880–1892* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 142; André M. Podlewski, *Les forgerons Mafa*; Cahiers ORSTOM—Sciences Humaines 3.1 (Paris: Office de la recherche scientifique et technique Outre-Mer, 1966), 12.

108 Susan J. Rasmussen, "Ritual Specialists, Ambiguity and Power in Tuareg Society," *Man* n.s. 27 (1992): 105; Rasmussen, *Neighbors, Strangers, Witches, and Culture-Heroes*, 18; Rasmussen, "Afflictions of the Stomach," 96; Jean Brown, *Traditional Metalworking in Kenya*; Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 38 (Oxford: Oxbow, 1995), 131; Catherine Baroin, "Dominant-Dominé: Complementarité des rôles et des attitudes entre les pasteurs Teda-Daza du Niger et leurs forgerons," in *Forge et forgerons: actes du IVe colloque Méga-Tchad: CNRS/ ORSTOM, Paris, du 14 au 16 septembre 1988*, ed. Yves Moñino, Collection colloques et séminaires 1 (Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM, 1991), 345; Musambachime, *Fire-Eaters*, 7; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 8.

109 de Barros, "Iron Metallurgy," 180.

110 de Barros, 185.

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can-Zimbabwe border, only marry women of the Lion Clan of the Sotho among whom they live.[111] The Tuareg legend *Iwillimidan* holds that Tuareg, Songhai, and Fula smiths are all from the same stock (line 8.197).[112]

The Musina smiths have many cultural distinctions from their surrounding tribes: special wild food diet, fire stick use, importance of father's sister and father's brother, parallel male and female initiation ceremonies, and rejection of circumcision.[113] Tuareg smiths also possess a semi-secret language or argot.[114] Smiths often live in separate residential areas, sometimes because of endogamy.[115] But the craft of metallurgy itself tends to be segregated away from residential zones.[116] In addition, smelting sites may be placed at a distance from most village inhabitants to keep sexually active women away (see below).[117] This was the practice in the 19th-century African Great Lakes Kingdoms,[118] although some Shona of Zimbabwe, however, have no such restrictions of women at metallurgical installations.[119]

At Ugarit, metalworkers lived and operated far from the temples and palaces, and at Bronze Age Altyndepe in Turkmenistan, the braziers or coppersmiths were situated at the edge of the site.[120] On the other hand, at Tell es-Safi/Gath,

111 Adi Inskeep, *Heinrich Vedder's "The Bergdama"* (Cologne: Rudiger Koppe, 2003), 918, 925–27.

112 Altinine Ag Arias, trans., *Iwillimidan* (Niamey: Centre nigerien de recherche en sciences humaines, 1970), 132–33.

113 Inskeep, *Heinrich Vedder's Bergdama*, 920–21.

114 Dominique Casajus, "Sur l'argot des forgerons Touaregs," *Awal* 5 (1989): 124–25; Nicolaisen and Nicolaisen, *The Pastoral Tuareg*, 58; Edmond Bernus, "Place et rôle du forgeron dans la société Touaregue," in *Metallurgies Africaines*, ed. Nicole Echard; Mémoires de la société des Africanistes 9 (Paris: COPEDITH, 1983), 245–48.

115 de Barros, "Iron Metallurgy," 187; Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 148–49 with examples from the Kapsiki, Mafa, and Marghi of Cameroon; Louise Iles and Paul Lane, "Iron Production in Second Millennium AD Pastoralist Contexts on the Laikipia Plateau, Kenya," *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 50 (2015): 379, with examples from the Samburu of Kenya.

116 Marie-Claude Dupré and Bruno Pinçon, "La metallurgie du fer," *Cahiers des sciences humaines* 31 (1995): 831, with reference to the Fipa of Tanzania.

117 S. Terry Childs and David Killick, "Indigenous African Metallurgy: Nature and Culture," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22 (1993): 328; Michael Rowlands and Jean-Pierre Warnier, "The Magical Production of Iron in the Cameroon Grassfields," in *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals, and Towns*, ed. Thurstan Shaw; One World Archaeology 20 (London: Routledge, 1993), 527; van der Merwe and Avery, "Science and Magic in African Technology: Traditional Iron Smelting in Malawi," 162.

118 Reid and MacLean, "Symbolism and the Social Contexts of Iron Production in Karagwe," 149.

119 J. S. Hatton, "Notes on Makalanga Iron-Smelting," *NADA: The Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Department Annual* 9 (1967): 39.

120 Matthews, "Artisans and Artists in Ancient Western Asia," 459.

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bronze and iron production took place next to temples and shrines in multiple strata and areas.[121]

The Teke and Hungana smiths are itinerant, as are Wolof and Igbo smiths.[122] Although Eugenia Herbert considers itinerancy to be rare in Africa other than for isolated individual wandering tinkers,[123] depletion of resources can often necessitate smelters migrating, control of ambitious kings over production cause smiths to move, and the economic need to disperse evenly over villages as a service industry to farmers impel migration of all metalworkers.[124] For smiths, a border might be no boundary at all, as they can move easily from one polity to another.[125] Susan Rasmussen speaks of Tuareg smiths as "partially peripatetic."[126] Akkadian texts attest to itinerant leadworkers in Nineveh, Nimrud, and Ashur.[127]

The stereotype of the smith as "despised" is most definitely *not* true in Southern Ethiopia, Burundi, or Benin, in the 19th-century Anziku Kingdom of the Congo Teke, or among the Shona of Zimbabwe.[128] Metalworkers are highly respected in Hausa, Igbo, Fipa, and most Mande- and Bantu-speaking regions.[129] "Smith of Bornu" is a term of affection in the Fula song "Goyda."[130]

121 Amit Dagan and Aren M. Maeir, "'And the Gods of the Philistines' (Judges 10:6): Understanding Philistine Cultic Practices in Light of Archaeological and Textual Evidence" (Paper presented to the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, Boston, 2017).

122 Bollig, "Hunters, Forgers, and Singing Smiths," 199–201; David P. Gamble, *The Wolof of Senegambia*; Epigraphic Survey of Africa: Western Africa 14 (London: International African Institute, 1967), 52; Simon Ottenberg and Toyin Falola, *Igbo Religion, Social Life, and Other Essays*; Classic Authors and Texts on Africa (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2006), 65.

123 Eugenia W. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 47–48.

124 Van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 32.

125 Van Beek, 52.

126 Rasmussen, *Neighbors, Strangers, Witches, and Culture-Heroes*, 129; Dominique Casajus, "Crafts and Ceremonies: The Inadan in Tuareg Society," in *The Other Nomads: Peripatetic Minorities in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Aparna Rao; Kölner Ethnologische Mitteilungen 8 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987), 291.

127 John Curtis and Matthew Ponting, *An Examination of Late Assyrian Metalwork: With Special Reference to Nimrud* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), 134.

128 de Barros, "Iron Metallurgy," 177; Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 41; S. Terry Childs, "Style, Technology, and Iron Smelting Furnaces in Bantu-Speaking Africa," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 10 (1991): 339; Vansina, *Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo*, 142.

129 Childs and Killick, "Indigenous African Metallurgy," 329; Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 48; Jaggar, *The Blacksmiths of Kano City*, 11; Nancy C. Neaher, "Bronzes of Southern Nigeria and Igbo Metalsmithing Traditions" (Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1976), 91; Patrick R. McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," *Mande Studies* 13 (2011): 1; Musambachime, *Fire-Eaters*, 49; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 28.

130 Roger Labatut, ed., *Chants de vie et de beauté recueillis chez des Peuls nomades du Nord-Cameroun* (Paris: Publications orientalistes de France, 1974), 82.

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In many communities, smiths are revered artisans, priests, or shamans.[131] Often they are sought after as healers,[132] especially among the societies of the highlands of Nigeria and Cameroon.[133] Healing—for the Fipa of Tanzania—"goes beyond cuts and injuries; it encompasses not only the entire human pathology and pandemics but also natural mishaps and calamities."[134]

The technical expertise of the metalworker is considered to border on magic, rendering the smith a sort of wizard, a person of great power.[135] In Muslim countries, smiths—whose orthodoxy is questionable—coexist in tense rivalry with Marabouts and Sufi guides.[136] The Soninke *Epic of Fa-Jigi* says, "Sorcery came from smithing. Ah, people! Blacksmithing is no joke" (lines 612–13).[137] Hausa smiths

131 Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa*, 33.

132 Bollig, "Hunters, Forgers, and Singing Smiths," 199, 204, 216; Susan J. Rasmussen, "Art or Money? Ceremonial, Aesthetic and Economic Aspects of the Blacksmith-Artisan Role in Tuareg Rural and Urban Settings" (Paper presented to the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, 1988), 12, 14; Patrick R. McNaughton, "Bamana Blacksmiths," *African Arts* 12.2, 1979, 65; van der Merwe and Avery, "Science and Magic in African Technology: Traditional Iron Smelting in Malawi," 159.

133 Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 148; Neaher, "Bronzes of Southern Nigeria and Igbo Metalsmithing Traditions," 89–90; Serge Genest, "Savoir traditionnel chez les forgerons Mafa," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 8 (1974): 504–5; Walter E. A. van Beek, *The Dancing Dead: Ritual and Religion among the Kapsiki/Higi of North Cameroon and Northeastern Nigeria,* Oxford Ritual Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 265; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 190–95.

134 Bertram Mapunda, "Jack of Two Trades, Master of Both: Smelting and Healing in Ufipa, Southwestern Tanzania," *African Archaeological Review* 28 (2011): 163.

135 Rowlands and Warnier, "The Magical Production of Iron in the Cameroon Grassfields," 512–13, 537–39; Reid and MacLean, "Symbolism and the Social Contexts of Iron Production in Karagwe," 147, with cases from the Great Lakes region of Africa; Rasmussen, "Afflictions of the Stomach," 99, 118 n.1; Rasmussen, *Neighbors, Strangers, Witches, and Culture-Heroes*, xvii, 3; and Rasmussen, "Ritual Specialists, Ambiguity and Power in Tuareg Society," 106, with cases from the Tuareg; Cervello, "'They Work to Eat and They Eat to Work': M'allemin Craftsmen, Classification, and Discourse among the Bidan Nobility of Mauritania," 175, with cases from the Bidan of Mauritania; Bollig, "Hunters, Forgers, and Singing Smiths," 204, for the Kalahari San; Brown, *Traditional Metalworking in Kenya*, 123–28, for Kenya; Baroin, *Anarchie et cohésion sociale chez les Toubou*, 71, for the Teda of Chad; McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 4, for Mande speakers; Roy G. Willis, *The Fipa and Related Peoples of South-West Tanzania and North-East Zambia*, Ethnographic Survey of Africa: East Central Africa 15 (London: International African Institute, 1966), 25; and Mwelwa C. Musambachime, *Wealth from the Rocks: Mining and Smelting of Metals in Pre-Colonial Zambia* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2016), 224, for the Fipa of Tanzania; McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths*, 1993, 146–50; Nambala Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique noire: Transmission des savoirs traditionnels en pays Malinké*, Anthropologie—Connaissance des hommes (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993), 157, 211–12 for the Mandinka.

136 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 15; Diop, *La société Wolof*, 95.

137 John William Johnson, Thomas A. Hale, and Stephen Paterson Belcher, eds., *Oral Epics from Africa: Vibrant Voices from a Vast Continent*, African Epic Series (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 29.

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are the crafters of magical substances;[138] Mafa smiths compound medicines,[139] and Mande blacksmiths discovered smallpox inoculation by the 1700s.[140] Igbo, Mafa, Marghi, Kapsiki, and Bambara smiths provide oracles,[141] as divination like wax casting of brass requires attention to intricate details and minute analysis of small phenomena.[142] Some Mande smiths divine with copper paraphernalia.[143]

The line between feared wizard (see below) and ritual specialist (as for the Bambara) is indefinite,[144] although smiths are always on the side of society, however dangerous they may still be.[145] Thus, Mafa smiths are cast as the magical adversaries of witches.[146] Although this is not common among African smiths generally, Mafa and Mandinka blacksmiths also perform sacrifices, for themselves, in service to others, and regularly on behalf of the chief and community.[147] Kapsiki smiths do not perform sacrifices, but like Jethro in Exodus 18, they direct the proceedings of sacrifices offered by non-smiths.[148]

Moreover, the theory behind smith sorcery may not be that their technical expertise bleeds over into magical practice—although that is the Kapsiki view,[149] but the reverse: among the Bambara and Mandinka, for example, smiths possess in remarkable amounts *nyama* energy, a quality much like the Force of "Star Wars," especially the three lackluster "prequel" films where it is a measurable attribute.[150] As McNaughton writes, "Hunting [see below], or smelting and forging iron demand a greater quantity of energy…God gave smiths this greater store of

138 Jaggar, *The Blacksmiths of Kano City*, 10; Guido Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika: Ihre soziale Stellung in traditionellen Gesellschaften*; Kulturanthropologische Studien 4 (Hohenschäftlarn: Renner, 1979), 22.

139 André M. Podlewski, "Les activités médicales et paramédicales des 'forgerons' Mafa (Nord-Cameroun)," in *Etiologie et perception de la maladie dans les sociétés modernes et traditionnelles*, ed. A. Retel-Laurentin (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987), 358–60.

140 Patrick R. McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths: Knowledge, Power, and Art in West Africa*; Traditional Arts of Africa 798 (Bloomington: Indiana Univeristy Press, 1993), 57.

141 Neaher, "Bronzes of Southern Nigeria and Igbo Metalsmithing Traditions," 89–90; McNaughton, "Bamana Blacksmiths," 69; Genest, "Savoir traditionnel chez les forgerons Mafa," 501–2; Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 24, 47–48, 102.

142 Van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 12.

143 McNaughton, "Little Metal Object of Provocative Potential."

144 Germaine Dieterlen, *Essai sur la religion Bambara*, 2nd ed.; Anthropologie sociale (Brussels: Editions de l'université de Bruxelles, 1988), 143.

145 Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 226; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 147.

146 Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 30–31; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 188–89.

147 Podlewski, *Les forgerons Mafa*, 31–32; Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 121.

148 Van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 162–66.

149 Van Beek, 311–14.

150 McNaughton, "Bamana Blacksmiths," 66; McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 3; Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 32; the Tuareg view is similar; Nicolaisen and Nicolaisen, *The Pastoral Tuareg*, 60.

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energy."[151] For this reason, and due to their immunity in war, like Jedi the Bambara and Mandinka smiths are "important advisors and intermediaries" and "charged with the responsibility of providing the young with their primary education."[152] They pass on the community's traditions, collective memory, and philosophy.[153] Kapsiki, Igbo, and Fula smiths can even be intermediaries for you to God or to your personal family god.[154]

Van der Merwe and Avery offer a third explanation for the association of magic and metallurgy, following Malinowski. Magic produces confidence in those who have to cope with the unknown, in technologies based on knowledge sufficient to perform a task but insufficient to predict the outcome, like metallurgy, hunting, and sex (on the latter two, see below).[155] Moreover, when such complex, vulnerable endeavors fail, the practitioner, in this case the smelter, is an expert at diagnosing the cause.[156]

"In an astonishingly high proportion of West African cultures, the smith is funeral director."[157] With the Kapsiki of Cameroon, the smiths are responsible for preparing bodies after death, including conducting an elaborate multi-day ceremony of parading the corpse.[158]

For the Mandinka, Bambara, Soninke, Igbo, Maasai, Fula, and Teda, because smiths are healers they perform the community's circumcisions.[159] As Zahar notes for the Bambara, this means smiths hold the role of forgers of community, permitting human society to work the ground (like Cain) or live in cities (like Enoch).[160]

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151 McNaughton, "Bamana Blacksmiths," 66, 68.

152 McNaughton, 70; McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 1; Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 159; McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths*, 1993, 64–65; Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 131.

153 Mamadu Jara, *Récits épiques des chasseurs bamanan du Mali*, trans. Annik Thoyer; Récits épiques des chasseurs bamanan 1 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), 19.

154 Walter E. A. van Beek, "Rerhe, the Blacksmiths of the Kapsiki," *The World and I* (April 1989), 640; Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 145, 185, 191.

155 Van der Merwe and Avery, "Science and Magic in African Technology: Traditional Iron Smelting in Malawi," 165.

156 Mapunda, "Jack of Two Trades, Master of Both," 165.

157 Van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 25.

158 Van Beek, *The Dancing Dead*, 4, 263, and passim; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 248–79.

159 Lianne Holten, *Mothers, Medicine and Morality in Rural Mali: An Ethnographic Study of Therapy Management of Pregnancy and Children's Illness Episodes*, Mande Worlds 6 (Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2013), 26; McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths*, 1993, passim; McNaughton, "Bamana Blacksmiths," 69; Jean Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*, Recherches en sciences humaines 10 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1957), 268–70; Dominique Zahar, *Sociétés d'initiation Bambara*; Le monde d'Outre-Mer passe et present 1.8 (Paris: Moutor, 1960); Pollet and Winter, *La sociétés Soninke*, 452–55; Iles and Lane, "Iron Production in Second Millennium AD Pastoralist Contexts on the Laikipia Plateau, Kenya," 380; Ottenberg and Falola, *Igbo Religion, Social Life, and Other Essays*, 65; Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 179–81.

160 Zahar, *Sociétés d'initiation Bambara*.

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In African societies where circumcision is not practiced, smiths still officiate over rites of passage to adulthood.[161] On the other hand, blacksmiths are the only males admitted into the Bambara "Komo Society" without being circumcised,[162] and they serve as the society's diviners, bell ringers, and drummers.

"The smith is ideally situated to act as an intermediary between" our world and the supernatural.[163] Teke, Kongo, Songhai, Bambara, and Shona smiths are in regular contact with paranormal beings.[164] Tuareg and Mandinka smiths converse with djinn,[165] Fipa smiths with the dead.[166] On the other hand, some Fula smiths, who trace their art to the Angel Gabriel instructing Adam or their art and lineage back to King David (as with the Tuareg), ward off djinn as they forge.[167]

Many smiths have special relationships with snakes, as well.[168] A large venomous snake is an essential element of "medicine" in creating a Fipa furnace in Tanzania.[169] If we allow evidence from folklore, Hausa songs recount a talking serpent who could forge people.[170] The Mandinka djinn of the forge descend from giant serpents.[171] Estonian legends hold smiths to be trained by elves,[172] like the

161 E.g., shaving adolescent Kapsiki boys; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 176–77.

162 Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 228.

163 Van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 119.

164 Marie-Claude Dupré and Bruno Pinçon, *Métallurgie et politique en Afrique Centrale: Deux mille ans de vestiges sur les plateaux Batéké Gabon, Congo, Zaïre*; Collection "Hommes et sociétés" (Paris: Karthala, 1997), 68; Childs, "Style, Technology, and Iron Smelting Furnaces in Bantu-Speaking Africa," 343, 350; Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy in Ancient Greece and Recent Africa*, 186; Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 68; Jean Rouch, *La religion et la magie Songhay*, 2nd ed. rev.; Anthropologie sociale/Institut de sociologie (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1989), 285; McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 5.

165 Rasmussen, "Ritual Specialists, Ambiguity and Power in Tuareg Society," 107; B. Appia, "Les forgerons du Fouta-Djallon," *Journal de la société des Africanistes* 35 (1965): 319–25; Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 38, 44–45, 121–22, 125–27.

166 Mapunda, "Jack of Two Trades, Master of Both," 167.

167 Germaine Dieterlen, ed., *Textes sacrés d'Afrique Noire*; Collection UNESCO d'oeuvres representatives, serie Africaine 4 (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), 31; Appia, "Les forgerons du Fouta-Djallon," 319; Nicolaisen and Nicolaisen, *The Pastoral Tuareg*, 58. Hausa smiths trace their craft to Noah; Stanislaw Pilaszewicz, "The Image of Hausa Smiths in Some Written Sources," in *Forge et forgerons: actes du IVe colloque Méga-Tchad: CNRS/ORSTOM, Paris, du 14 au 16 septembre 1988*, ed. Yves Moñino; Collection colloques et séminaires 1 (Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM, 1991), 246; some Tuareg trace it to Muhammed; Ag Arias, *Iwillimidan*, ll. 8.192–94.

168 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 6; McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths*, 1993, 52.

169 Musambachime, *Wealth from the Rocks*, 247; the snake may be only mythical; Mapunda, "Jack of Two Trades, Master of Both," 170.

170 Jacques Pucheu, ed., *Contes haoussa du Niger*; Collection lettres noires (Paris: Karthala, 1982), 156, 159.

171 Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 45.

172 Antti Aarne, "Marchen und Sagenvarianten," *Folklore Fellows Communications* 25 (1918): 126, #57, citing J. Hurt MS, folio, 9.93(35).

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Kongo smiths.[173] Legend says the Ghana Empire was founded in the 10th century by the brother of a monstrous snake.[174] Some blacksmiths can control thunder and lightning, or turn into dogs, hyenas, or lions.[175]

Thus, the trickster and god of wisdom Ea (Enki) is the Mesopotamian divine smith.[176] In ancient Greece, the magic smiths are the mythical Rhodian Telchines and primeval Idaean Dactyls.[177] Magical smiths appear in the Irish *Cycle of Niall of the Nine Hostages* (AD 379). In lines 5–8, Sithchenn the Smith uses instruments of the forge as an ordeal to prophesy which son of King Muigmedon will be king.[178] Some recensions of the prayer known as "St. Patrick's Breastplate" include invocation "against spells of women and smiths and wizards" (lines 23–25).[179]

The high status and powers of the smith can result in a society's king being considered a *de jure* smith himself.[180] The Great Lakes Kingdom of Karagwe had such a non-functioning smith king, with his own ritual anvil,[181] and there are similar examples in Central African Republic, Zambia, Rwanda, and Burundi, in the Songhai *Epic of Issa Korombe,* among the eastern Kongo, Hildi tribes of Nigeria, the Congo (Brazzaville) Teke, and the Mundang-speakers and Bagirmi of Chad.[182] Nevertheless, there were also at one time kings who were actual working smiths, in eastern Congo, Gabon, and Zambia.[183] Prior to the Mali Empire,

173 MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa*, 68.

174 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 6.

175 Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 40; McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 5.

176 *CAD* 2.1, p. 310; *OIP* 2.140.5 (Sennacherib).

177 Blakely, *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy in Ancient Greece and Recent Africa*, 193, 210, 223, citing Apollonius of Rhodes, *Phonoris* 1.1129.

178 Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), 39; William Ridgeway, "Niall of the Nine Hostages in Connection with the Treasures of Trapain Law and Ballinrees and the Destruction of Wroxeter, Chester, Caerleon and Caerwent," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 127 (1924): 13–26.

179 Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1903), 2.357; the word for smiths is *gobann* in Egerton MS 93 of the British Museum, dated 1477, and *goband* in MS E42 of Trinity College Dublin.

180 Eugenia W. Herbert, *Iron, Gender, and Power: Rituals of Transformation in African Societies*, African Systems of Thought (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 131–32.

181 Reid and MacLean, "Symbolism and the Social Contexts of Iron Production in Karagwe," 152–53.

182 Herbert, *Iron, Gender, and Power*, 134, 148; Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 149; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa*, 196; Viviana Paques, *Le roi pecheur et le roi chasseur*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Arguments, 1992), 47; Johnson, Hale, and Belcher, *Oral Epics from Africa*, 141; Christian Seignobos, "Le forge et le pouvoir dans le bassin du Lac Tchad ou: Du roi-forgeron au forgeron-fossoyeur," in *Forge et forgerons: actes du IVe colloque Méga-Tchad: CNRS/ORSTOM, Paris, du 14 au 16 septembre 1988*, ed. Yves Moñino; Collection colloques et séminaires 1 (Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM, 1991), 383; Musambachime, *Fire-Eaters*, 49, 157.

183 Herbert, *Iron, Gender, and Power*, 133; Frank Hagenbucher-Sacripanti, *Les fondements spirituels du pouvoir au royaume de Longo*; Mémoires ORSTOM 67 (Paris: Office de la recherche scientifique et technique Outre-Mer, 1973), 71, 75.

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Mande-speaking smiths "were political leaders and held considerable territory and people under their control" in what is now Mali, Niger, and Mauritania.[184] The Shona of Zimbabwe and surrounding regions had a fable where the lion is both king of beasts and working blacksmith.[185]

Similarly, the smith clan often stands in close relationship to the chief or king.[186] Kapsiki chiefs perform some rituals with smiths and are buried with symbols of blacksmithing.[187] Marghi kings are required to marry at least one smith woman.[188] Among all Mande societies (e.g., Soninke, Mandinka, Bambara), a king will "make no decision without first getting the opinion, and then the approval, of a senior Blacksmith"[189]—although those same smiths are technically low status persons. Fipa chiefs are forbidden to visit the smithy and all other visitors must pay tribute to the smith, acknowledging his authority.[190] Among the Masalit of Sudan and Chad, the smith has the unique privilege of appearing before the sultan with head uncovered.[191] Fula smiths are the chauffeurs for the kings.[192] The Kongo smiths call themselves the parents of the chiefs,[193] while the chief's official paraphernalia features an anvil.[194] When a new Kongo chief is installed, "by becoming, in the course of the ritual, 'the smith at the forge,' the candidate unites with the powers of the leopard those of the *bisimbi* [supernatural beings] who are smiths themselves and the source of the creative abilities of human smiths."[195] For the Bassari of Togo and Ghana (unrelated to the Bassari of Senegal and Guinea), "the chief of the blacksmiths is like a shadow image of the chief,"[196] both the chief and the smiths are "cool."[197] Igbo smiths have long been kingmakers.[198]

184 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 1.

185 F. Posselt, *Fables of the Veld* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), 80–82.

186 See Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 48–49 on the Marghi.

187 Van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 154, 247.

188 Van Beek, 154.

189 McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths*, 1993, 9; Roy G. Willis, *A State in the Making: Myth, History, and Social Transformation in Pre-Colonial Ufipa*; African Systems of Thought (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), 150.

190 Willis, *The Fipa and Related Peoples of South-West Tanzania and North-East Zambia*, 26.

191 Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 41.

192 Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 107.

193 MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa*, 66–67.

194 MacGaffey, 196; Wyatt MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture: The Conceptual Challenge of the Particular* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 184. MacGaffey, 249 n.11, notes that this association of chiefs and smiths is not mentioned before the mid-1600s and probably came from Angola.

195 MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture*, 144; the smiths are the principal priests of the Bisimbi; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa*, 179.

196 Richard Fardon, *Between God, the Dead and the Wild: Chamba Interpretations of Religion and Ritual*; International African Library 8 (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 83.

197 Fardon, 84.

198 Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 145.

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Sometimes there are sexual associations with mining, forging, smelting.[199] The Teke of the Congo cannot mine ore without being in relationship with *nkira* fertility spirits, mothers of the earth.[200] Many smiths—like those of the Bassari—must refrain from sexual relations during the phases of the smelting process.[201] They, like the Phoka of Malawi, the Fipa of Tanzania, the Shona of Zimbabwe, and the Garanganze of Congo describe their furnaces as fertile young women with wombs.[202] The Ekonda of the Congo call the tuyere of their furnace a vagina and the handle that operates it a penis.[203] For the Mandinka, the tuyere is the penis.[204] Hausa smiths heat iron "to the color of a vulva or clitoris."[205] Phoka furnaces are protected at night by a sapling they call a garter belt wrapped around the top.[206] For the Bassari and Fipa, the furnace is not simply a pregnant woman but the smith's wife, which explains the ban on admitting sexually available women to the smithy in many cultures.[207] The bellows of a Bambara blacksmith are his "testicles."[208] Bassari smiths are themselves believed to have "an unrestrained sexuality."[209]

Along the same lines, smiths as healers can be particularly effectual in treating infertility, as they are for the Bambara, the Fipa, the Mafa, the Mandinka, the Hausa, and the Kongo.[210] Kapsiki smith women are midwives.[211] Abandoned

199 Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 47; Schmidt, *Iron Technology in East Africa*, 218; Herbert, *Iron, Gender, and Power*, 32–40, 56–65, with examples from the Hausa of Niger, the Bassari of Togo, the Ekonda of the Congo, and the Fipa of Tanzania.

200 Dupré and Pinçon, "La metallurgie du fer," 828.

201 Goucher and Herbert, "Blooms of Banjeli," 45; Dupré and Pinçon, "La metallurgie du fer," 828.

202 Childs and Killick, "Indigenous African Metallurgy," 326; Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 46; Reid and MacLean, "Symbolism and the Social Contexts of Iron Production in Karagwe," 149; Cervello, "'They Work to Eat and They Eat to Work'," 125, 132, 142; Rasmussen, "Afflictions of the Stomach," 99; Goucher and Herbert, "Blooms of Banjeli," 46; Randi Barndon, "Fipa Ironworking and Its Technological Style," in *The Culture and Technology of African Iron Production*, ed. Peter R. Schmidt (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 67; Dupré and Pinçon, "La metallurgie du fer," 835.

203 Dupré and Pinçon, "La metallurgie du fer," 835.

204 Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 38.

205 Nicole Echard, "Scories et symboles. Remarques sur la metallurgie Hausa du fer au Niger," in *Metallurgies Africaines*, ed. Nicole Echard; Mémoires de la société des Africanistes 9 (Paris: Presses de COPEDITH, 1983), 220–21.

206 Van der Merwe and Avery, "Science and Magic in African Technology: Traditional Iron Smelting in Malawi," 159.

207 Goucher and Herbert, "Blooms of Banjeli," 53; Barndon, "Fipa Ironworking and Its Technological Style," 67.

208 Dieterlen, *Essai sur la religion Bambara*, 145; Viviana Paques, *Les Bambara*; Monographies ethnologiques Africaines (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), 96.

209 Fardon, *Between God, the Dead and the Wild*, 84.

210 Dieterlen, *Essai sur la religion Bambara*, 144; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa*, 196; Mapunda, "Jack of Two Trades, Master of Both," 172; Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 28; Echard, "Scories et symboles," 222; Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 136, 143–44.

211 Van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 54.

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furnaces of the Fipa in Tanzania are used to store medicines to cure infertility.[212] Contrariwise, exposure to the spiritual dangers of an active Fula smithy could cause infertility.[213]

Blacksmiths have a seminal role in the origin myth of the Maa-speaking Samburu people of north-central Kenya.[214] There are, in fact, several examples of smiths serving as "Culture Heroes": among the Mafa of Cameroon, the Hausa of Niger, and the 16th-century Kingdom of Loango (western Congo).[215] Igbo relate that God, Chukwu, sent a smith to prepare the land for the first humans, and the cultural hero Nnebuzo was hunter, healer, and smith.[216] Many Mande-speakers consider the first human to have been a smith—Domajiri,[217] or for the Soninke "Old Fande," as the *Epic of Fa-Jigi* says.[218] In Mandinka myth, the ancestor of all blacksmiths was one of three beings that descended from heaven to the first humans and the only one of the three whose prayers for rain were effective.[219]

The *Epic of Sundiata* of the Mandinka people of Mali describes the conflict between Soumaoro Kanté, the blacksmith king of the Sosso, and Sundiata, the founder of the Mali Empire.[220] "Like all masters of fire, Soumaoro Kanté was a great sorcerer,"[221] who consorts with djinn.[222] He was also a musician and inventor of stringed instruments.[223] Both his army and that of Sundiata used smiths as their special forces.[224] At the end, all the smiths having either entered Sundiata's service or dead,[225] Sundiata establishes a law that forbids smiths from holding political power.[226] The epic reflects a historical situation wherein powerful blacksmith groups controlled the Mande peoples prior to the rise of the Mali Empire.[227]

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212 Musambachime, *Wealth from the Rocks*, 248.

213 Yaya Wane, *Les Toucouleur du Fouta Tooro*, Initiations et études Africaines 25 (Dakar: Institut fondamental d'Afrique Noire, 1969), 53.

214 de Barros, "Iron Metallurgy," 149.

215 Herbert, *Iron, Gender, and Power*, 12; Hagenbucher-Sacripanti, *Les fondements spirituels du pouvoir au royaume de Longo*, 71; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 1.

216 Neaher, "Bronzes of Southern Nigeria and Igbo Metalsmithing Traditions," 77.

217 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 7.

218 Johnson, Hale, and Belcher, *Oral Epics from Africa*, 24.

219 Stephen Paterson Belcher, *African Myths of Origin*; Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 2005), 393.

220 Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 146–47.

221 Djibril Tamsir Niane, trans., *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali*, Longman African Classics (Essex: Longman, 1992), 38; the same is true in the epic of Tala Mansa Kongo, wizard founder of the blacksmith clan of Kamisoko Fa-Digi Sisoko; *Son-Jara, The Mande Epic*, trans. John W. Johnson, 3rd ed.; African Epics (Bloomington: Indiana Univeristy Press, 2003), 279.

222 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 16.

223 Niane, *Sundiata*, 39.

224 Niane, 38, 42, 49, 51. 60.

225 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 17.

226 McNaughton, 1; McNaughton, 2, theorizes the epic may have been a rationale for their disbarment.

227 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 11.

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A Maba song from Chad likewise presents the smiths as a chief's main supporters in war: *Magéné mesūagha, kûlek tanğak leğamha,* literally "Maguene his *mesouag*, the chief-blacksmith his support, Aguid of Khozzam his horse," meaning, when he leaves for war, Maguene provides him his *mesouag*, the chief of the blacksmiths, his support, and Aguid of Khozzam, his horse.[228] All of these are cases of evidence from legends, however, and may not reflect actual beliefs. Nevertheless, in the fourteenth century, the Bawoyo dynasty, which belonged to a powerful confraternity of warrior smiths known as the Buvādji, conquered the local population on the Atlantic coast of the Congo.[229]

Nevertheless, there are some cases where the endogamous clans of smiths are pariahs, who are regarded as unclean.[230] This is true among Chad's Teda and Maba, the Maasai, the Tuareg and other peoples of the western Sahara (Wolof, Mauri, Songhai), Cameroon's Kapsiki, and in the 19th century Bornu Empire,[231] as well as in Nepal.[232] Kenya's Samburu call their smiths "dogs,"[233] Kapsiki smiths are dirty and stink even when one is your best friend,[234] and a Tuareg song implies they are bastards.[235] In fact, while the Tuareg hold their smiths in high esteem, they are always suspect and "frequently thought to be wearisome by the Tuareg."[236] The impurity of "unclean" smiths, however, for the Bassari has the positive value of making smiths immune to pollution from anything else unclean.[237]

In some situations, the social status of smiths has shifted radically over time: on the floodplain of what was once Lake Chad, the endogamous smith class, who are

228 Georges Trenga, *Le Bura-Mabang du Ouadai*, Université de Paris travaux et memoires de l'institut d'ethnologie 49 (Paris: Musée de l'homme institut d'ethnologie, 1947), para. 2.1.5.

229 Hagenbucher-Sacripanti, *Les fondements spirituels du pouvoir au royaume de Longo*, 23.

230 Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 41.

231 Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, 41, 48; Rasmussen, "Ritual Specialists, Ambiguity and Power in Tuareg Society," 111; Brown, *Traditional Metalworking in Kenya*, 128–29; Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 144; van Beek, *The Dancing Dead*, 3; Gamble, *The Wolof of Senegambia*, 40, 44; Brandily, *Instruments de musique et musiciens instrumentistes chez les Tèda du Tibesti*, 128, 132; Iles and Lane, "Iron Production in Second Millennium AD Pastoralist Contexts on the Laikipia Plateau, Kenya," 379.

232 Haaland, Haaland, and Rijal, "The Social Life of Iron," 51; Bonnie L. Wright, "The Power of Articulation," in *Creativity of Power: Cosmology and Action in African Societies*, ed. W. Arens and Ivan Karp (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 42–43.

233 Fumagalli, "A Diachronic Study of Change and Sociocultural Processes among the Pastoral Nomadic Samburu of Kenya," 97.

234 Walter E. A. van Beek, "Iron, brass and burial: the Kapsiki blacksmith and his many crafts," in *Forge et forgerons: actes du IVe colloque Méga-Tchad: CNRS/ORSTOM, Paris, du 14 au 16 septembre 1988*, ed. Yves Moñino; Collection colloques et séminaires 1 (Paris: Editions de l'ORSTOM, 1991), 306; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 46–47.

235 Moussa Albaka and Dominique Casajus, eds., *Poésies et chants touaregs de l'Ayr* (Paris: AWAL/Harmattan, 1992), op. 644.

236 Nicolaisen and Nicolaisen, *The Pastoral Tuareg*, 60.

237 Fardon, *Between God, the Dead and the Wild*, 84.

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of low status, claim descent from kings.[238] The quarter in the ancient capital of the Bagirmi belonging to the low-class smiths was once the palace.[239] The low status of smiths may be the result of the fear they instill—this is the case for Songhai and Wolof smiths.[240] No low-class smiths in Africa, however, are unimportant or non-persons. That is, they are never pariahs in the sense that they are ignored or treated as inconsequential (as are, e.g., the Pygmies of Republic of Congo).[241] Quite the contrary, Wolof smiths are both "low rank" and "men of considerable importance."[242]

In several societies, smiths are also musicians.[243] This is true of the "Bidan" cleric-smiths of Mauritania,[244] of the Tuareg,[245] the Teda,[246] the Hausa,[247] the Bambara,[248] on the islands and coasts of Lake Chad, and in highland cultures in Nigeria/Cameroon (Kapsiki, Mafa, etc.).[249] Mandinka and Fulani smiths are considered part of the same broad class as griots in those societies.[250] Bambara smiths and griots perform similar rites for the dead, and myths ascribe their arts to a common origin,[251] as do the myths of the Songhai.[252] For the Hausa, sons of marriages of women from among the smiths and non-smith men are musicians, as are their own descendants.[253] The Ugaritic text RS 24.252, 4, calls musicians and singers the "friends" of the smith god Kothar-wa-Hasis, and the Canaanites

238 Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 151; Seignobos, "Le forge et le pouvoir," 383–84; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 156, worries this ascribes too much historicity to myth.

239 Paques, *Le roi pecheur et le roi chasseur*, 45.

240 Rouch, *La religion et la magie Songhay*, 294; Diop, *La société Wolof*, 58–59.

241 Georges Celis, *Eisenhütten in Afrika*; Afrika 6 (Frankfurt: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1991); Kanté, *Forgerons d'Afrique Noire*, 253.

242 Gamble, *The Wolof of Senegambia*, 44–45.

243 Bollig, "Hunters, Forgers, and Singing Smiths," 216; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 26.

244 Cervello, "'They Work to Eat and They Eat to Work': M'allemin Craftsmen, Classification, and Discourse among the Bidan Nobility of Mauritania," 129.

245 Rasmussen, "Art or Money? Ceremonial, Aesthetic and Economic Aspects of the Blacksmith-Artisan Role in Tuareg Rural and Urban Settings," 1, 8; Casajus, "Crafts and Ceremonies," 293, 300–303; Casajus, *La tente dans la solitude*, 222.

246 Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*, 312; Brandily, *Instruments de musique et musiciens instrumentistes chez les Teda du Tibesti*, passim; Baroin, "Dominant-Domine," 343.

247 Nicolas, *Dynamique sociale*, 304.

248 Jara, *Récits épiques des chasseurs bamanan du Mali*, 19.

249 Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 148, 150; van Beek, *The Dancing Dead*, 5, 251; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 281–82, 286, 290; Schmitz-Cliever, *Schmiede in Westafrika*, 47.

250 Ruth Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik: Über die traditionelle Verknüpfung von Schmiedehandwerk und Musik in Afrika, Asien und Europa*, Orpheus-Schriftenreihe zu Grundfragen der Musik 37 (Bonn: Verlag für systematische Musikwissenschaft, 1984), 76.

251 Michels-Gebler, 78–79.

252 Michels-Gebler, 81.

253 Michels-Gebler, 82–85.

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visiting Egypt on the Beni Hassan tomb paintings carry lyres with their bellows and tuyeres.

Finally, smiths are the designated hunting class in the Great Lakes region of Africa and around Lake Chad,[254] and Igbo smiths are always hunters.[255] The smiths are the greatest hunters among the Bambara of Mali, as well.[256] Teda smiths are in particular hunters of antelope, gazelle, and ostriches (cf. Chapter Six, above).[257]

Many of these elements appear in the biblical traditions associated with smiths, Kenites, and Midianites. The term "smiths" is not meant to limit the profession of the "Cain" group: among the Teda of Chad, the Congo Ekonda, the Kapsiki, the Shona, and the West African Bambara, Fula, Hausa, Mandinka, and Soninke, the same people are miners, smelters (biblical לעפ), blacksmiths (שרח), metalworkers (רסנ), and tinkers—workers in gold, silver, iron, copper, or brass.[258]

The biblical Kenites are a quasi-ethnic group, overlapping with and partially identified with Midianites, Edomites, and even adopted into the lineages of Judah. Not only does Gen 4:15's Mark of Cain ascribe immunity to Cain, but one could just as easily translate the verse as, "Therefore whoever kills a smith, vengeance will be taken on him sevenfold."[259] Kenite immunity could easily underlie Sisera selecting Heber's camp as a place of refuge, fleeing Deborah and Barak's victory.

Some Kenite figures are highly respected. Both Jethro and Heber appear to be noble chieftains, esteemed even by the Israelite community. Jethro plays first a ritual intermediary role, like Kapsiki, Igbo, and Fula smiths and identically to Mafa

254 Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 152; Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik*, 108.

255 Neaher, "Bronzes of Southern Nigeria and Igbo Metalsmithing Traditions," 77.

256 Jara, *Récits épiques des chasseurs bamanan du Mali*, 19.

257 Baroin, "Dominant-Domine," 341–43.

258 Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*, 207–9; Baroin, *Anarchie et cohésion sociale chez les Toubou*, 70; Baroin, "Dominant-Domine," 333–34; McNaughton, "Bamana Blacksmiths," 69; Pollet and Winter, *La société Soninke*, 216; Appia, "Les forgerons du Fouta-Djallon," 329–39; Georges Celis, "Fondeurs et forgerons Ekonda," *Anthropos* 82 (1987): 111, 126; Georges Celis and Yaya T. Coulibaly, *Métallurgies traditionnelles du fer*, Archief voor Antropologie = Archives d'anthropologie 32 (Tervuren: Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale, 2001), 9; Pilaszewicz, "The Image of Hausa Smiths in Some Written Sources," 244; van Beek, "Rerhe, the Blacksmiths of the Kapsiki," 636–37; van Beek, "Iron, Brass, and Burial," 284; Dewey, "Continuity and Change in the Anthropology of Metalworking among the Shona". For the Kapsiki, iron and brass workers are the same, but smiths and smelters are not; van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 3, 22, 87.

259 John F. A. Sawyer, "Cain and Hephaestus," *Abr-Nahrain* 24 (1986): 162–64. There is, on the other hand, no basis for calling the entire Cain story a preserved memory of Bronze Age copper metallurgy, as does Nissim Amzallag, "Why is the Cain Geneaology (Gen. 4:17–24) Integrated into the Book of Genesis?" *ANES* 55 (2018): 23–50.

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smiths, and then plays a Jedi-like advisor role to Moses like a Mande smith.[260] That Sisera flees to Heber and Jael also suggests their potential role as healers, a post-battle paramedic sanctuary.[261] Jethro's centrality in the introduction of Yahwism and in particular in Yahwistic ceremony shows him as a typical ritual specialist, while later tradition gave Cain's daughter Naamah infernal connections (see Chapter One). Although nowhere in the Bible is metallurgy associated with sex, the sexual nature of the Midianite apostasy at Baal Peor is patent. Cain's offspring are all cultural heroes. Enoch is the creator of cities. Jabal is "the father of those who dwell in tents and have livestock." Jubal is "the father of all those who play the lyre and pipe…Tubal-Cain, the forger of all implements of bronze and iron." The biblical smiths are thus musicians, as well.[262]

Nevertheless, Cain is the archetypical pariah.[263] Cain himself fears, "Behold, You have driven me this day from the face of the ground; and from your face I will be hidden, and I will be a vagrant and a wanderer on the earth, and whoever finds me will kill me." Like the Ṣleb we shall meet below, Cain is a wanderer who is not Bedouin: *Abel* shepherds the flocks, while Cain's line founds cities.[264] Even Jabal is not a donkey (i. e., onager) caravaneer like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob but an ass nomad, like those shown at Beni Hassan with both anvil and lyre.[265]

Given these biblical parallels to what solid ethnography establishes as concomitant for smiths in the rest of the world, especially in Africa, one can reasonably assume many of the other details anthropologists have noted also apply,[266] *and for a reason*: mechanisms provide an explanation for these parallels, as follows.[267] As Tal Tamari notes, the emergence of such endogamous, pariah groups of metallurgist/musicians across widely diverse societies in Africa—"agricultural, pastoral, with or without urban centers and significant long-distance trade, with or without writing, the existence of several 'world religions' and an apparently infinite diversity of 'traditional' belief systems"—depends "on economic factors and symbolic representations that are common to all," as well as "contingent

260 One wonders why there was a casting furnace in the Temple precinct according to Zech 11:13; Cor Notebaart, *Metallurgical Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible*, Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en zijn Tradities Supplements 9 (Amsterdam: Societas Hebraica Amstelodamensis, 2012), 315.

261 Cf. van Beek, *The Forge and the Funeral*, 36.

262 Brandily, *Instruments de musique et musiciens instrumentistes chez les Teda du Tibesti*, 89–90.

263 Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik*, 132.

264 Alison Betts, "The Solubba," *BASOR* 274 (1989): 61. As an alternative to death, Cain is sentenced to a life like Abel's; Paul Nadim Tarazi, *The Rise of Scripture* (St. Paul: Orthodox Center for the Advancement of Biblical Studies, 2017), 152.

265 Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik*, 132–33, 178.

266 Kaarle Krohn, *Folklore Methodology*, Publications of the American Folklore Society 21 (1926; repr., Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 127.

267 Tamari, "Kingship and Caste in Africa," 141.

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triggering factors…of just two types."[268] She identifies one such trigger as the absorption of one population by another and the other trigger as having to do with "blacksmith kings," but then remarks that the latter, too, may be the consequence of much earlier absorption of a separate people.[269] In Mande-speaking societies and among the Bassari, smiths consider themselves and are considered by others to be a separate ethnicity.[270] In some cultures, as we have seen, the absorbed high status smiths remain highly respected, as with the Igbo history elucidated by Neaher,[271] while in others they move to the bottom of society. We shall return to this historical mechanism below.

The Ṣleb

Before using these insights to reconstruct the process by which Yahweh migrated from Arabia to Israel, one particular ethnographic analogy deserves special attention. Charles Montagu Doughty (d. 1926) was the first to highlight the Ṣleb of Arabia as comparable to the Semitic figures depicted at Beni Hasan with anvil and musical instruments, and W. F. Albright first proposed them as analogous to the Midianite Kenites.[272] McNutt briefly mentions the Ṣleb, noting they were hunters, smiths, as well as pariahs for the Bedouin.[273]

Although Ṣleb or Ṣolubba, as McNutt calls them, are acceptable terms for this group, the name is properly Ṣlayb or al-Ṣlāba, and they are also known as al-Ṣulbān (but not Ṣlaba).[274] The same group are sometimes known as al-Khlāwīya.[275] They occupy no discrete area or even discrete zone in the desert, but are found from Palmyra to Mosul to the Hejaz and Kuwait.[276] They are not a subset of Bedouin, neither *badâwah* nor *hadârah* ("civilized"). They are nomadic, but not pastoralists, and their migratory unit is often small, often no more than an extended family like that of Heber the Kenite.[277]

268 Tamari, 141.

269 Tamari, 142.

270 McNaughton, "The Smiths in Sunjata," 4; Fardon, *Between God, the Dead and the Wild*, 143.

271 Neaher, "Bronzes of Southern Nigeria and Igbo Metalsmithing Traditions," 78.

272 Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*, 153, 155.

273 Paula McNutt, "'Fathers of the Empty Spaces' and 'Strangers Forever': Social Marginality and the Construction of Space," in *Imagining Biblical Worlds*; ed. David M. Gunn and Paula M. McNutt, JSOTSup 359 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 43–44.

274 Jibrāʾīl Sulaymān Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert: Aspects of Nomadic Life in the Arab East*, SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 421.

275 Jabbūr, 421.

276 Jabbūr, 421.

277 Betts, "The Solubba," 64.

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As noted by John Bagot Glubb (Glubb Pasha), the Ṣleb are renowned guides, regarded as the most familiar with the desert and its ways.[278] They specialize in collecting and selling salt,[279] but—what is much more important—the Ṣleb are primarily tinkers and smiths, as first noted by Harry St. John Philby.[280] Like many African smiths, they are of lowest social status.[281] They are endogamous and have no recognized line of descent, neither as "pure" Qahtanite Arabs nor as Adnanite "Arabized Arabs."[282] Contact with Ṣleb pollutes.[283] Nevertheless, Ṣleb have immunity; they are protected from raids.[284] In addition to metallurgy, Ṣleb are reputed healers,[285] poets or musicians,[286] and hunters, especially of gazelle.[287] Bedouin witches feared Ṣleb women as more powerful than themselves.[288] On the other hand, they are reputed healers.[289] Ṣleb, like Jael the Kenite, once revived four lost Rwala men fleeing a raid by "pouring butter down their throats" and on another occasion resuscitated a lost explorer with camels' milk.[290]

The Ṣleb's importance is first that they exemplify many of the characteristics noted for smiths in Africa in the same physical location as the ancient Midianites (although their range extends far beyond that, covering essentially the land of the Sutu of Chapter Four).[291] They inhabit the same sort of terrain and climate as the proposed Kenite smiths of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age.[292] That much is important.

Kyle McCarter and others have furthermore suggests that the Ṣleb may be descended from those Kenite Midianites.[293] This latter possibility depends on the mystery that surround the Ṣleb's origins.

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278 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 421, 424, 452; Betts, "The Solubba," 64.

279 Kevin Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?* (Munich: Akademische Verlagsgemeinschaft München, 2013), 28–29.

280 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 441, 447, 452; Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 4, 52–53.

281 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 421, 426; Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 9, 49.

282 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 429, 435, 457.

283 Jabbūr, 457.

284 Jabbūr, 429, 441, 448; Betts, "The Solubba," 64.

285 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 447, 452, 456; Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 4, 51.

286 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 452–54; Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 4, 7, 37; Walter Dostal, "Die Sulubba und ihre Bedeutung für die Kulturgeschichte Arabiens," *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 11 (1956): 21, 26.

287 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 450; Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 9; St. J. Simpson, "Gazelle-Hunters and Salt-Collectors: A Further Note on the Solubba," *BASOR* 293 (1994): 79.

288 Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 26.

289 Betts, "The Solubba," 62.

290 Betts, 62.

291 Betts, 67.

292 Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik*, 27.

293 P. Kyle McCarter, "Cain and the Kenites" (Paper presented to the Society of Biblical Literature Mid-Atlantic Regional Meeting, New Brunswick, NJ, 2012); Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 25; Michels-Gebler, *Schmied und Musik*, 32 n.2.

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Several widespread theories about Ṣleb origins must be dismissed. The Lebanese scholar Suleyman al-Boustani was the first (1887) to document the idea that the Ṣleb were descendants of Crusaders, although some Arab folk wisdom may have already suggested this. This idea has been accepted by Glubb Pasha among others.[294] Jibrāʾīl Sulaymān Jabbūr, writer of the definitive study on the Ṣleb and Bedouin, calls it "nonsense."[295] The name Ṣleb is unrelated to the Arabic word for Crusaders, *Ṣalibiyyin*; the blue eyes supposedly found among the Ṣleb are common among many Arabs; and there are no references to the theory before the 19th century.[296] Max von Oppenheim repeated a 19th-century French theory that the Ṣleb were from India, which has no supporting evidence.[297]

What is clear is that the name Ṣleb is no more than two centuries old. Thus any connection with the Akkadian Shelappāyu of Assyrian texts is impossible.[298] The name was unknown to Carsten Niebuhr, who describes what must be the same people without that name in the late 18th century, although it is attested by Johann Ludwig Burckhardt in 1809 and increasingly thereafter by others.[299] The common testimony of Ṣleb and their neighbors is that they are not Arabs and not true Muslims, at least in an orthodox sense.[300] Jabbūr considers their use of donkeys and hunting as evidence that they were originally a settled people,[301] but this argument is based solely on logic and need not be accurate. On the basis of the 10th-century *Fihrist* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, Jabbūr suggests they are the descendants of the "pagan" people of Harran who identified themselves with the Sabians in order to qualify for Islam's protection.[302] Blench speculates that they were "the last remaining traces of the pre-Islamic populations of Arabia."[303]

A recent genetic profile of Bedouin in Kuwait included a Ṣleb group called the Awazim. Since Kuwaiti Bedouin populations resemble their neighbors, this study

294 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 422, 424, 443; Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 6, 10, 18–20. 22–23; Dostal, "Die Sulubba und ihre Bedeutung für die Kulturgeschichte Arabiens," 27.

295 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 445, 458.

296 Jabbūr, 430, 436, 459.

297 Jabbūr, 423, 445 n.62.

298 Proposed by Nicholas Postgate and Simpson, "A Futher Note," 79; Roger Blench, "The Semiticisation of the Arabian Peninsula and the Problem of Its Reflection in the Archaeological Record," in *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places: Proceedings of Red Sea Project V: Held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, ed. Dionisius A. Agius (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 67.

299 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 425–27.

300 Jabbūr, 436, 447, 461; Bress, *Wer sind die Sleb?*, 19; Dostal, "Die Sulubba und ihre Bedeutung für die Kulturgeschichte Arabiens," 30.

301 Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 448, 450, 461.

302 Jabbūr, 462, 464.

303 Blench, "The Semiticisation of the Arabian Peninsula and the Problem of Its Reflection in the Archaeological Record," 67.

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is of great value.[304] All the Bedouin populations showed low diversity, and the Awazim the lowest of all, making them distinctly endogamous.[305] The Awazim do not belong genetically to either the Adnanite or Qahtanite lineages.[306] The high frequency among Awazim of haplogroup E-M123 links them to the Caucasus or Roma populations, suggesting they descend from slaves brought before the rise of Islam.[307] If this is accurate, then Tamari's model would not hold true as the smith ethnic group was absorbed artificially and never had high status, although the Ṣleb would resemble in their origins the Songhai Red smiths. In any case, nothing connects the Ṣleb directly to ancient Midianites or Kenites. Instead, they serve as another ethnographic analogy, albeit one in the precise same location as the crucial Yahwistic smiths of this study.

The Introduction of Yahweh

We are now in a position to reconstruct what happened in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages to introduce Yahweh into Israel. What follows is a reconstruction, a "possible past," offered as a reasonable, argued picture that best accounts for the evidence at hand, subject to further fine-tuning and appraisal.[308] It is also, as we shall see, an example of "diffusion," a controversial topic in the practice of history. The diffusion modelled here is firmly embedded *within* historical process, however; it is not a matter of some vague "force of ideas."[309] The contact between peoples has already been firmly established in the preceding chapters.[310]

We begin with the inhabitants of Midian, those people living in Tayma, Qurayyah, Aynuna, Jazirat Faraun, and the small sites in the Wadis Agharr, ʿIfdal, and Sharmah, but also Yotvata, En Hazeva, and all the land in between, including probably Tell el-Kheleifeh.[311] The current archaeological survey of Qurayyah

304 T. Mohammad et al., "Genetic Structure of Nomadic Bedouin from Kuwait," *Heredity* 103 (2009): 2, 6.

305 Mohammad et al., 5.

306 Mohammad et al., 6.

307 Mohammad et al., 7.

308 Robert D. Miller II, "A 'New Cultural History' of Early Israel," in *Israel in Transition: From Late Bronze II to Iron IIA*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, vol. 2; European Seminar in Historical Methodology 8 (New York: T & T Clark, 2010), 67; Robert D. Miller II, "Yahweh and His Clio: Critical Theory and the Historical Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," *Currents in Biblical Research* 4 (2005): 160.

309 T. Champion, "Introduction," in *Centre and Periphery*, ed. Michael Rowlands, M. T. Larsen, and K. Kristiansen; One World Archaeology 11 (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 10–15.

310 Colin Renfrew, "Introduction," in *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, ed. Colin Renfrew and John Cherry; New Directions in Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 7.

311 Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Socioeconomic Evolution of the Negev and Southern Jordan in the Iron Age," *ASOR Newsletter*, 2005, 11.

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by Marta Luciani will provide much more information about this community or communities, but at this point there is no reason to postulate a "Qurayyah Chiefdom." More probably, on the analogy of the hill country above the western shore of the Red Sea, the Midianites were a phratry of clans of 4000–30,000 people, with clan boundaries constantly being redefined and never territorial.[312] The clans would have been made up of several lineages each, with residential units even smaller than the clans.[313] There is no reason to believe they constituted a single polity or even "ethnicity."

They were, moreover, migratory—avoiding the more specific term with a technically meaning that cannot be supported by evidence: "nomadic." With somewhat less certainty, I propose they rode camels. It is clear that, in contrast to Egypt, Edom, and Israel, they had domesticated camels.[314] Yet much debate continues about whether domesticated camels at this point in history were used for transport or merely for meat and hides.

Moreover, much debate continues about the nature of nomadism.[315] Anthony Frendo's 1996 study is far too simplistic, regarding all nomads as pastoralists and relying on outdated data from William Robertson Smith and Charles Montagu Doughty.[316] Michael Rowton is equally simplistic, full of generalizations.[317] Nomads fall into multiple classes—pastoral nomads, semi-pastoral nomads, and fully agricultural nomads, as well as tethered and peripheral nomads.[318] Near

312 Harir, "Adaptive Forms and Process Among the Hadendowa," 83; Detlef Jericke, *Die Landnahme im Negev: Protoisraelitische Gruppen im Süden Palästinas*, ADPV 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 162–63.

313 Harir, "Adaptive Forms and Process Among the Hadendowa," 84.

314 Ernst Axel Knauf et al., "Arabian Trade in the Iron Age," in *From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. José A. Ramos, Philip R. Davies, and Maria Ana Travassos Valdez (Lisbon: Centro de Historia da Universidade de Lisboa, 2008), 41; Grigson, "Camels, Copper and Donkeys in the Early Iron Age of the Southern Levant," 97.

315 Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, trans. Julia Crookenden; Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 44 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 40.

316 Anthony J. Frendo, "The Capabilities and Limitations of Ancient Near Eastern Nomadic Archaeology," *Orientalia* n.s. 65 (1996): 2–3 and 20, respectively. For discussion, see Erez Ben-Yosef, "Throwing the Baby OUt with the Bathwater: On a Prevailing Methdological Flaw in the Treatment of Nomads in Current Biblical Archaeology," paper presented at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting (Denver, 2019).

317 Graeme Barker, "The Desert and the Sown: Nomad—Farmer Interactions in the Wadi Faynan, Southern Jordan," *Journal of Arid Environments* 86 (2012): 82; Jordi Vidal, ed., "Sutean Warfare in the Amarna Letters," in *Studies on War in the Ancient Near East* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), 97–101; Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 113–15; Khadija Ait-Alhayane, *Pastoralisme(s): Sahel, Maghreb et Europe du Sud* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2016), 49; Roger Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology*, New Studies in Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), passim.

318 Ait-Alhayane, *Pastoralisme(s)*, 46; Willeke Wendrich and Hans Barnard, "The Archaeology of Mobility," in *The Archaeology of Mobility: Old World and New World Nomadism*, ed. Hans Barnard and Willeke Wendrich (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2008), 7; Jabbūr, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, 29–32; Betts, "The Solubba," 67.

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Eastern nomadism on its own is varied, with modern Arabian Bedouin having many unique characteristics.[319] Since the Midianites are both nomadic and have towns,[320] they are best studied without generalizations about nomads.

Among these Midianites were the copper metallurgists of Timna, especially in the 12th century but already in the late 14th and early 13th centuries, and of Faynan in the 11th and 10th.[321] In fact, metal technology being portable,[322] the Midianites were primarily metallurgists or "Kenites," probably miners and smelters first and later metalworkers.[323] Work in the gold industry was added in the 10th century and perhaps even silver and iron, as well.

All of this is substantiated by the consistent link of Qurayyah Painted Ware and copper.[324] There is no need to tie the Midianite-Kenites to Negbite Ware,[325] even when it is "slag-tempered";[326] as we have seen, Negbite Ware runs from the Early Bronze Age to the Early Islamic period.[327] Qurayyah Painted Ware was the "amateur production of craftsmen skilled in another technology."[328] Since those amateur potters had high-quality kiln-like fires,[329] that other technology must have been metallurgy.

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319 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 53–58.

320 Peter Parr, "Pottery of the Late Second Millennium BC from North West Arabia and Its Historical Implications," in *Araby the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology*, ed. Daniel T. Potts (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1988), 84; Juan Manuel Tebes, "Pottery Makers and Premodern Exchange in the Fringes of Egypt," *Buried History* 43 (2007): 19.

321 Ulrich Hübner, "Early Arabs in Pre-Hellenistic Palestine in the Context of the Old Testament," in *Nach Petra und ins Königreich der Nabatäer*, ed. Ulrich Hübner et al. (Bodenheim: Philo, 1998), 36.

322 Thomas D. Hall, "Civilization Change: The Role of Nomads," *Comparative Civilizations Review*, 1991, 38.

323 Nissim Amzallag and Shamir Yona, "Differentiation of the Qayin Family of Roots in Biblical Hebrew," *Semitica* 59 (2017): 304.

324 Knauf et al., "Arabian Trade in the Iron Age," 41; Shirly Ben-Dor Evian, "Follow the Negebite Ware Road: The Copper Exchange Network in the Early Iron Age Southern Levant" (Paper presented to the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, Boston, 2017); Larry G. Herr, "Another Dissenting View," *Antiquity Project Gallery* (blog), 2006, 9.

325 David Eitam, "The Settlement of Nomadic Tribes in the Negeb Highlands during the 11th Century B. C.," in *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1500–1000 B. C.)*, ed. Michael Heltzer and Edouard Lipiński, OLA 23 (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 328, sees this accurately.

326 As per Mario A. S. Martin, et al., "Iron IIA Slag-Tempered Pottery in the Negev Highlands, Israel," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (2013): 3790.

327 Mordechai Haiman and Yuval Goren, "Negbite Pottery," in *Pastoralism in the Levant: Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Ofer Bar-Yosef and Anatoly M. Khazanov (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1992), 145.

328 Peter Parr, "Further Reflections on Late Second Millennium Settlement in North West Arabia," in *Retrieving the Past: Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus W. Van Beek*, ed. Joe D. Seger (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 215; Jan Kalsbeek and Gloria London, "A Late Second Millennium BC Pottery Puzzle," *BASOR* 232 (1978): 54; contra Tebes, "Pottery Makers and Premodern Exchange in the Fringes of Egypt," 13.

329 Parr, "Further Reflections on Late Second Millennium Settlement in North West Arabia," 215.

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The Midianite Kenites lived in tents below the hills at Timna,[330] obtaining supplies from Yotvata. They might have been buried in Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery, although the absence of Qurayyah Painted Ware there makes me suspect they were not. They participated in a triangular, international trade system.[331] From Midian to Palestine they brought workers and knowhow, along with incense acquired from further south and cinnamon from further east.[332] Copper was then exported from Palestine to Egypt, along with slaves and oil,[333] and like the later Ṣleb, gypsum plaster, saltpeter, and nitratine (niter; Heb *neter*; Eg. *netjeri*—$NaNO_3$, not natron $NaHCO_3$).[334]

Like many of their African counterparts and like those depicted at Bani Hassan, the Midianite Kenites were also musicians (Genesis 4). They were hunters, especially of ibex and ostrich. Like the Ṣleb and African smiths, Kenites were famed healers (Judges 4). Because of their value to the trading network, they were immune from attack (Genesis 4). Their mysterious but invaluable skills made them both as valued as Jethro and Heber and as feared and uncouth as Cain and Jael. Anthropologically, the Midianite Kenites were a hereditary, non-tribal, non-ethnic self-governed craft group like the Andean *Mindaláes*.[335] Such entities can exist even within states, operating independently with their own kin hierarchies and achieved status (e.g., the Brazilian *quilombos*).[336] As Ferdinand Tönnies stated a century ago, such shared inherited craft groups, although technically a *Gesellschaft,* believe their association is natural or supernaturally ordained, i. e., a *Gemeinshaft*.[337] I do not think they were Shasu or Sutu.

The deity of these people was not Seth, Thoth, Bebon, or Qaus; it was Yahweh (Exodus 18; Numbers 13–14).[338] In support of this assertion, I present the data

330 Nothing suggests those workers were Edomites, as per Eitam, "The Settlement of Nomadic Tribes in the Negeb Highlands during the 11th Century B. C.," 333.

331 Knauf et al., "Arabian Trade in the Iron Age," 41; Evian, "Follow the Negebite Ware Road: The Copper Exchange Network in the Early Iron Age Southern Levant."

332 Claire Somaglino and Pierre Tallet, "A Road to the Arabian Peninsula in the Reign of Ramesses III," in *Desert road archaeology in ancient Egypt and beyond*, ed. Frank Förster (Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Inst, 2014), 515; Ruth Shahack-Gross and Israel Finkelstein, "Settlement Oscillations in the Negev Highlands Revisited," *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 259; contra Grigson, "Camels, Copper and Donkeys in the Early Iron Age of the Southern Levant," 96.

333 Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Qurayyah Painted Ware," in *Lachish* 3, n.d., 1280–1287, https://www.academia.edu/2005391/The_Qurayyah_Painted_Ware.

334 Mohamed Tawfic Ahmed, et al., "El Maghara Ecosystem," in *Ecosystems and Human Well-Being: El Maghara, Northern Sinai, Egypt*, ed. Mohamed Tawfic Ahmed (Nairobi: UNEP, 2010), 68.

335 Thomas Patterson, "Tribes, Chiefdoms, and Kingdoms in the Inca Empire," in *Power Relations and State Formation*, ed. Thomas C. Patterson and Christine Ward Gailey (Washington, D.C: American Anthropological Association, 1987), 120.

336 Peter Gelderloos, *Worshiping Power* (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2016).

337 Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society (1887)* (New York: Harper, 1963), 192, 255.

338 Hübner, "Early Arabs in Pre-Hellenistic Palestine in the Context of the Old Testament," 36.

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and interpretation of Chapter Six: the menhirs of Yotvata, Timna 198, and possibly Timna Area F Site 2; the peak sanctuaries of Har Shani, Tayyib al-Ism, Imaret el-Khureisha, and Timna Site 34; and the cairns of Tayyib al-Isam, Jabal Maqla, Imaret el-Khureisha, Tayma, and Qurayyah. Their influence is attested in the Wall Plaster 4.3 at Kuntillet Ajrud on the road from Timna to Egypt, on the north doorjamb of the entry to Building A's Bench Room: "The Kenites overcame the countryside." Can we go further, and claim that as ritual specialists—like most smiths—they introduced Yahweh to Israel, perhaps even writing the Kuntillet Ajrud Building A inscription that so resembles the biblical RMS? Before we can answer this question, we will have to further establish their relationship to the ancient Israelites.

We have already seen in Chapter Five Israel Finkelstein's argument that a chiefdom centered at Tel Masos had some oversight of the trade coming out of the copper mines of the Arabah.[339] Tel Masos stratum III dates from the 12th century, then after a lacuna of some fifty years, stratum II to the 11th.[340] Although Finkelstein and Aharon Kempinski, following Yohanan Aharoni, view Tel Masos as Israelite, Zev Herzog, Moshe Kochavi, Anson Rainey, Nadav Naʿaman, and Avraham Faust follow Benjamin Mazar in arguing it was not Israelite, since it had Egyptian-influenced buildings and was abandoned when Beersheba and Arad became prominent.[341]

A decision on this issue is not of great importance, since in either case, Tel Masos and its area of hegemony served as a bridge to regions further north that were Israelite. I am not convinced it was a chiefdom, as Finkelstein's argument does not involve anthropological literature on chiefdoms.[342] Moreover, the post-Masos Negev "fortresses" are Israelite, as we have seen in Chapter Five, and took advantage of Arabian and copper trade.[343] Some of these Negev sites—Horvat Haluqim, Ramat Matred 159, Horvat Har Boqer 108, and Atar HaRoa, were already controlled by Tel Masos in the Iron I period. We do not need to argue that a Tel Masos chiefdom operated the Faynan industry.[344]

339 Israel Finkelstein and Avi Perevolotsky, "Processes of Sedentarization and Nomadization in the History of Sina and the Negev," *BASOR* 279 (1990): 78; also Joshua Nielsen, "Egypt's Interactions with Pastoral Nomads in the Sinai, Negev, and Transjordan," 9.

340 Israel Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 114–15. Tebes, "Southern Home," 173, dates stratum II to the 10th.

341 Finkelstein, 117–18.

342 Finkelstein, 122–26.

343 Avraham Faust, "The Negev Fortresses in Context," *JAOS* 126 (2006): 149–52.

344 As per Martin et al., "Iron IIA Slag-Tempered Pottery in the Negev Highlands, Israel," 3778.

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11th-century Tel Masos had a small-scale secondary metal processing industry, attested in House 314.[345] It shows ritual paraphernalia identical to that found at Timna.[346] Bronze items identified as having their origin in the Faynan industry have been found at Tell es-Safi/Gath, Deir Allah (although there was also metallurgy done at both), and a 10th-century tomb at Pella.[347]

We have already discussed the presence of Qurayyah Painted Ware north of the core Midianite zone: too few samples to be due to migration and the wrong sort of vessels to be the result of trade; only the Kenites themselves moving north provides an explanation.[348] This was only the beginning of Arabian trade, well attested at Beersheba and Arad in the 8th century,[349] by which time the Negev was a mixing bowl of Judahites, Edomites, Midianites, and even South Arabian elements.[350] But the wealth of the Negev was sufficient to attract Pharaoh Shishak's armies already in the 10th century.[351]

It is more difficult to tie the Midianite Kenites to other metallurgy in Israel and Judah.[352] Iron slag cakes at Hazor Xb (10th century) and Tel Rehov IV (9th century) show someone was smelting.[353] Even earlier, Early Iron Age Khirbet Raddanah 3 had a small copper industry.[354] Slag-encrusted crucibles were found, but with no smoke on the crucibles—meaning copper ingots were smelted elsewhere and brought in, then put in the crucibles. This is possible because copper can be smelted in small, charcoal-fueled furnaces at lower temperatures than iron making

345 Grigson, "Camels, Copper and Donkeys in the Early Iron Age of the Southern Levant," 96.

346 Juan Manuel Tebes, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom," *DavarLogos* 6 (2007): 72.

347 Tebes, 72–73.

348 Peter Parr, "Contacts Between Northwest Arabia and Jordan," in *Studies in the History and Antiquity of Jordan*, ed. Adnan Hadid, vol. 1 (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1982), 129.

349 Lily Singer-Avitz, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community in Southern Arabian Long-Distance Trade in the Eighth Century B.C.E.," *Tel Aviv* 26 (1999): 50–52; Michael Jasmin, "The Emergence and First Development of the Arabian Trade across the Wadi Arabah," in *Crossing the Rift: Resources, Settlements Patterns, and Interaction in the Wadi Arabah*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski and Katharina Galor (Oxford: Oxbow, 2006), 145–49.

350 Knauf et al., "Arabian Trade in the Iron Age," 50.

351 Uzi Avner, "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 143.

352 Tebes, "Southern Home," 172, considers it impossible to do so. I leave aside coastal metallurgy in the Iron I period at Tel Mor, Tell el-Qasile, and Tel Zeror; Notebaart, *Metallurgical Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible*, 226. By the end of this period, Philistine metallurgy overtook all other types in technological superiority; Paula McNutt, *The Forging of Israel*; Social World of Biblical Antiquity 8 (Sheffield: Almond, 1990), 192–205.

353 Adi Eliyahu-Behar, et al., "New Evidence for Iron Production in the Iron Age of the Levant," *Metalla* 4 (2011): 274.

354 Robert D. Miller II, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans: A History of Israel in the Twelfth and Eleventh Centuries B. C.* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012).

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requires.[355] While bronze can be made anywhere by resmelting old items—ingots being rare—pure copper is not worked this way.[356] Since the only source for the copper ingots would be the Negev and Arabah, and the knowledge of smelting copper would have been specialized, Midianite Kenites could have been working at Khirbet Raddanah. There are, in fact, abundant copper, bronze, iron, and gold items from Iron I Israelite Khirbet Raddanah, Tell el-Farah North (Tirzah), Beitin (Bethel), Et-Tell (Ai), El-Jib (Gibeon), Khirbet ed-Dawwara, and Tell Dothan.[357]

Metallurgy at Khirbet Raddanah, Tell es-Safi, and elsewhere in Israel, as well as the presence of Qurayyah Painted Ware, could point to Midianite Kenites themselves moving north into early Israel.[358] Ethnographically, village societies have institutionalized provisions for strangers, especially merchants.[359] The Tewa Indians lived commensally among the Hopi for more than two centuries maintaining endogamy and their own language and religion.[360] There is, in fact, a close analogy for such an arrangement in Malawi and southern Zambia, as follows.[361]

On the Nyika Plateau in northern Malawi and northeastern Zambia are countless iron mines, and the Tumbuka who live there have no idea what was mined

355 Musambachime, *Fire-Eaters*, 233.

356 James D. Muhly, "Mining and Metalwork in Ancient Western Asia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. M. Sasson et al. (New York: Scribner, 1995), 1510.

357 Miller, *Chieftains of the Highland Clans*.

358 Tebes, "Southern Home," 174, is more cautious, placing the cultural transmission from Midian to Israel over a longer and later period.

359 Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1953), 33–34.

360 Redfield, 55 and the extensive studies by Edward P. Dozier.

361 Studies of the history of this region are mainly limited to graduate seminar papers and short studies, most of them many decades old. And many of these amount to grand narratives of events three hundred to seven hundred years prior based entirely on wholescale acceptance of late 20th century oral tradition: thus, Hangston B. K. Msiska, "Established on Iron, Undermined by Ivory: The Creation and Fragmentation of the Mwaphoka Kingdom" (University of Malawi Chancellor College History Students Research Seminar, Zomba, Malawi, 1978), 7; Yizenge A. Chondoka and Frackson Fwila Bota, *A History of the Tumbuka from 1400 to 1900* (Lusaka, Zambia: Academic Press, 2007); and Obryne J. M. Chipeta, "The Early History of the Tumbuka" (MA Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1982), 33, 36–38, 43, 46, 62–63. One cannot rely on oral tradition this way and expect such long-term precision, and the great Tumbuka/Phoka kingdoms thus reconstructed are most improbable; Fred W. Msiska, "Interaction between the Balowoka Immigrants and the Original Tumbuka/Phoka Inhabitants on the Northwestern Coast of Lake Malawi to the Late 19th Century" (History Seminar 1981/82 Paper no. 5, Chancellor College, University of Malawi, 1982), 3, 6, 15 n.2; Bridglal Pachai, "Ngoni Politics and Diplomacy in Malawi 1848–1904," in *The Early History of Malawi.*, ed. Bridglal Pachai (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 193; H. L. Vail, "Suggestions towards a Reinterpreted Tubmuka History," in *The Early History of Malawi*, ed. Bridglal Pachai (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 148, 150–51, 153; Vail, "Religion, Language and the Tribal Myth: The Tumbuka and Chew of Malawi," in *Guardians of the Land*, ed. J. M. Schoffeleers; Zambeziana 5 (Gwelo, Zimbabwe: Mambo, 1979), 209.

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there.[362] The Tumbuka claim they never smelted iron; the Phoka did it for them, especially the dominant Mbale clan.[363] Phoka migrants moved onto the plateau in the 17th century, providing the miners and smelters of the iron for the indigenous Tumbuka.[364] It was by "intermarriage of the Phoka immigrants with the indigenous Tumbuka-speakers that the Phoka came to adopt the Tumbuka language."[365] The Phoka spread westward into Zambia along its border with Mozambique, bringing their smithing skills.[366]

In both settings, the Phoka continued to maintain their separate social organization for centuries,[367] a situation only ending with the Balowoka migration across Lake Malawi around 1750 and their rise to political dominance at Nkhamanga.[368] No regional governments had control over the local metals industries;[369] the Phoka ran these themselves and brought their goods from village to village as

362 W. H. J. Rangeley, "Ancient Iron Working on the Nyika Plateau," *The Nyasaland Journal* 13 (1960): 19–20; Augustine W. C. Msiska, "A Note on Iron Working and Early Trade among the Phoka of Rumphi, Malawi," *The Society of Malawi Journal* 34 (1981): 39; Wright, "Iron and Regional History," 148. Some of the mines themselves far predate any documentable culture group: Phopo Hill, radiocarbon dating to AD 200–1000, and Mbande Hill to 1500; Chipeta, "The Early History of the Tumbuka," 34.

363 Msiska, "Interactions between the Balowoka Immigrants and the Original Tumbuka/Phoka," 5–6; Chipeta, "The Early History of the Tumbuka," 49, 52. Phoka oral tradition names Mbale as the first inhabitant—a smith—of the Nyika Plateau; Thomas Cullen Young, *Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples (1932)*, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1970), 188.

364 Chondoka and Bota, *A History of the Tumbuka from 1400 to 1900*, 165; Chipeta, "The Early History of the Tumbuka," 53; Msiska, "A Note on Iron Working and Early Trade among the Phoka of Rumphi, Malawi," 38; Msiska, "Established on Iron, Undermined by Ivory: The Creation and Fragmentation of the Mwaphoka Kingdom," 10, 12; Vail, "Suggestions towards a Reinterpreted Tubmuka History," 153. An alternate scenario is that "All these peple were Tumbuka, but that environmental factors changed the language of some of them into a dialect of the Tumbuka language called Phoka"; Msiska, "Interactions between the Balowoka Immigrants and the Original Tumbuka/Phoka," 3, 5, but this is unlikely. Chipeta, "The Early History of the Tumbuka," 18's dismissal of Vail's work is without evidence.

365 Msiska, "A Note on Iron Working and Early Trade among the Phoka of Rumphi, Malawi," 37. Tumbuka were not indigenous, but had migrated separately from the Phoka, on a path both earlier and further west, and ended up south of the later Phoka center; Chondoka and Bota, *A History of the Tumbuka from 1400 to 1900*, xvii, 10–19, 39; Vail, "Suggestions towards a Reinterpreted Tubmuka History," 151.

366 Musambachime, *Fire-Eaters*, 38; Msiska, "Interactions between the Balowoka Immigrants and the Original Tumbuka/Phoka," 5; E. H. Lane Poole, *Native Tribes of the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka, Zambia: Government Printer, 1949), 23.

367 Msiska, "A Note on Iron Working and Early Trade among the Phoka of Rumphi, Malawi," 43.

368 Msiska, "Interactions between the Balowoka Immigrants and the Original Tumbuka/Phoka," 8; Vail, "Suggestions towards a Reinterpreted Tubmuka History," 148; Chondoka and Bota, *A History of the Tumbuka from 1400 to 1900*, xvii.

369 Indeed, contrary to the account of Chondoka and Bota, *A History of the Tumbuka from 1400 to 1900*, xvii, 41, based entirely on oral histories collected centuries after the "events," there was no centralized goverment before the arrival of the Balowoka, certainly no Tumbuka

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itinerate tinkers.[370] At the same time, the Mbale smiths clan was absorbed by genealogical manipulation into the kinship structures of new immigrant groups, first the patrilineal Mkandawire and then the matrilineal Msiska and Nyirenda.[371] The Mbale clan then functioned also as a priestly line, bringing their own religious traditions into the larger society.[372] Mbale also, Jedi- and Jethro-like, held "moral authority which derived from judicial impartiality, buttressed by their possession of superior technological skills which provided the means of patronage so useful in diplomacy."[373] It is even possible that the religious differences between the Southern and Northern Tumbuka—the Southern including a snake psychopomp spirit said to live in Nkhamanga—may be due to the presence of the Phoka among the Northern.[374]

Here are our Midianite Kenites, ritual specialists moving into societies of several different ethnicities, operating independently of governments, adopting local languages while preserving their own social structure—perhaps even preserving their distinctive metal jewelry like the Phoka (Judg 8:24).[375] And yet, such interaction cannot but create cultural change, as Edward Sapir noted a century ago.[376] To understand how that happens and whether Yahwism could have been thus "diffused," we must consider the nature of both diffusion and social memory.

Indiana Jones (in the epigram that begins this chapter) recommends reading V. Gordon Childe on diffusion, and the contemporary anthropologist Peter Schmidt agrees.[377] In our case, Childe's important insight was that "craftsmen were the practical bearers" of tradition, especially metallurgists.[378] Products and raw materials move, and ideas follow.[379] Childe cited the movement of hammer pins and animal scepter heads from the North Caucasus to Romania.[380] The index artifacts

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kingdom; Vail, "Suggestions towards a Reinterpreted Tubmuka History," 150; Pachai, "Ngoni Politics and Diplomacy in Malawi 1848–1904," 193.

370 Msiska, "A Note on Iron Working and Early Trade among the Phoka of Rumphi, Malawi," 41–42.

371 Chipeta, "The Early History of the Tumbuka," 24.

372 Chipeta, 55–57; Msiska, "Established on Iron, Undermined by Ivory: The Creation and Fragmentation of the Mwaphoka Kingdom," 16, 26.

373 Chipeta, "The Early History of the Tumbuka," 58.

374 Vail, "Religion, Language and the Tribal Myth," 213–14, 218, 220–22.

375 Musambachime, *Fire-Eaters*, 188.

376 Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology* 29 (1924): 427.

377 Peter R. Schmidt, *Iron Technology in East Africa: Symbolism, Science, and Archaeology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 2, 4.

378 V. Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History (1942)* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1971), 86.

379 V. Gordon Childe, "A Prehistorian's Interpretation of Diffusion," in *Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1936), 8.

380 V. Gordon Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization (1925)*, 6th ed. (Frogmore, UK: Paladin, 1973), 203.

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are rare stylistic types—like Qurayyah Painted Ware.[381] One does not see simple, unidirectional diffusion from point A to points B and C, but from A to B and C *and* from B to C and C to B.[382]

The insights are valid because elements of a given "culture" do not move independently of each other.[383] Metallurgy doesn't move without some ideas moving with it. "Exchange between groups with different cultural patterns and social relations" results in cultural change because existing practices and values, otherwise accepted as given, are challenged.[384] The religion of the Midianite Kenites—Yahwism, as we have shown—must have challenged the faith of the inhabitants of Palestine.[385] Ethnographic evidence shows that what is needed for religious diffusion is not political integration but a psychological desire for emulation.[386]

Since what is "diffused" is ideas, an understanding of social memory is also incumbent. I will use the term "social memory" instead of collective memory or cultural memory in distinction to the usage of Maurice Halbwachs and Jan Assmann, respectively. The last decades of the 20th century became "preoccupied with memory,"[387] and I will keep this discussion as brief as possible, but some history of the concept is in order.

Maurice Halbwach pioneered the study of collective memory in the 1920s, largely in reaction to Freud's understanding of memory.[388] Halbwach's point was that memories are always situated socially.[389] What is often overlooked, however, is that Halbwach was forgotten until the 1980s.[390]

381 Childe, "A Prehistorian's Interpretation of Diffusion," 11–12.

382 Childe, 17–20.

383 Bruce G. Trigger, "The Myth of Meroe and the African Iron Age," *African Historical Studies* 2 (1969): 27; contra Wilfred L. Guerin et al., *A Handbook of Critical Approaches to Literature*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 316.

384 William H. Sewell, Jr., "Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History," *Representations* 59 (1997): 49.

385 I contrast this with Dan Sperber's "epidemiology of belief," which is so materialistic that he predicts—without ethnographic or experimental basis—that some items of culture have a distribution determined strongly by ecological factors and others by cognitive factors; Dan Sperber, "Epidemiology of Beliefs (1996)," in *Religion and Cognition: A Reader*, ed. D. Jason Slone; Critical Categories in the Study of Religion (London: Equinox, 2006), 38, 52.

386 Julia Day Howell, "Javanese Religious Orientations in the Residence of Surakarta," in *Regional Analysis*, ed. Carol A. Smith, vol. 2 (New York: Academic, 1976), 231, 241, 247–48.

387 Patrick H. Hutton, "Memory: Witness, Experience, Collective Meaning," in *Sage Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (Los Angeles: Sage, 2013), 354; Alon Confino, "Memory and the History of Mentalities," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (New York: De Gruyter, 2008), 79; Jeffrey K. Olick, "From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (New York: De Gruyter, 2008), 155.

388 Confino, "Memory and the History of Mentalities," 78.

389 Maurice Halbwachs and Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

390 Hutton, "Memory: Witness, Experience, Collective Meaning," 356; Ericka Apfelbaum, "Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory," in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 77.

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Halbwachs did not explain how memories were transmitted from one generation to the next, as this was not his aim. Paul Connerton's 1989 *How Societies Remember* provided such explanations, considering rituals, manners, costume, and other socially negotiated practices to be loci where memory is embedded into human corporeal consciousness.[391] Yet as Jan Assmann, Barbara Misztal, and Elżbieta Hałas pointed out, Connerton's construct remained Durkheimian in its determinism.[392]

Jan Assmann addressed this Durkheimian determinism, drawing on Berger and Luckman's 1967 *Social Construction of Reality*.[393] Yet Assmann, too, treated social groups as essential and static, pre-existent entities *from which* memory derived.[394] Assmann followed Dewey in thinking such groups depended on common experience for coherence and Bourdieu, Foucault, and Geertz in thinking they did so in order to have a sense of communal identity.[395]

Biblical scholars have applied "memory" naïvely, even when conversant with Halbwachs and Assmann. The most common mistake has been to view societies simply as very large individuals and apply what is known about memory in individuals uncritically to whole nations.[396] However, because a society is not an entity that can remember independently of individuals remembering—a point obscured ever since Halbwachs,[397] we cannot treat it as a single individual but must explore how the individuals that make up the society relate to the collective.[398]

The most recent studies of social memory have therefore brought cognitive science into the discussion.[399] Rituals and customs are loci of commemoration,

391 Paul. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 90–101.

392 Guy G Stroumsa, "Religious Memory, between Orality and Writing," *Memory Studies* 9 (2016): 333.

393 E.g., Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory : Ten Studies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 37; Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization : Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 33.

394 Gregor Feindt et al., "Entangled Memory: Toward a Third Wave in Memory Studies," *History and Theory* 53, (2014): 26.

395 Jens Brockmeier, "Remembering and Forgetting: Narratives as Cultural Memory," *Culture & Psychology* 8 (2002): 18.

396 E.g., David M. Carr, *Holy Resilience. The Bible's Traumatic Origins* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 152, 256.

397 Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering, *The Mnemonic Imagination: Remembering as Creative Practice*; Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 11, 85; Olick, "From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products," 158; James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*; New Perspectives on the Past (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), ix–x; William Hirst and David Manier, "Towards a Psychology of Collective Memory," *Memory* 16 (2008): 186–87.

398 James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 21; Hirst and Manier, "Towards a Psychology of Collective Memory," 191, 197.

399 Ari Mermelstein, "A Cognitive Science Approach to Emotional Change in Textual Communities: Textualism at Qumran as Test Case" (Paper presented to the Society of Biblical

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but so are place names, oral texts, and many other less "embodied" agents.[400] We have already seen in Chapter Two and Four how many scholars have written about the representation of memory on space, following on Pierre Nora's *Lieux de Mémoire* work.[401]

Experimental cognitive science shows that a remembered visual image initiates and governs a remembered chain of semantic association.[402] So the level of articulation of a memory is proportionate to a semantic organization that depends on the visual, the subjective, the experiential.[403] As anthropology since Evans-Pritchard has shown, this sequencing is culturally conditioned.[404] Social memory, however, is no more purely semantic than individual memory is, just more (visually) conceptualized, conventionalized, simplified.[405] In other words, *discourse*, with its linguistic, semiotic, and performative order, becomes the quintessential locus for social memory.[406]

So in the case of Yahweh, the social memory of Yahwism is an idea that accompanies a craft, spread north by Midianite Kenites. It is semantically encoded in the RMS discussed in Chapter One, including the variant inscribed physically at Kuntillet Ajrud. I will be the first to admit there is a "missing link" between silent Midianite Kenite Yahwists and textual biblical and inscriptional variants that only approach them in time. The gap, however, is small and falls precisely at the kind of phase transition, point of no return were we would expect an exceptional,

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Literature Annual Meeting, San Antonio, 2016); Brockmeier, "Remembering and Forgetting: Narratives as Cultural Memory," 22–23.

400 Daniel Pioske, "Retracing a Remembered Past: Methodological Remarks on Memory, History, and the Hebrew Bible," *Biblical Interpretation* 23 (2015): 302; Olick, "From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products," 157–58; John Sutton, Celia B. Harris, and Amanda J. Barnier, "Memory and Cognition," in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 223; Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 36.

401 Marilena Papachristophorou, "Narrative Maps, Collective Memory, and Identities," *Narrative Culture* 3 (2016): 67, 69; Emily Keightley, "Engaging with Memory," in *Research Methods for Cultural Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 186; Pim den Boer, "Loci Memoriae—Lieux de Memoire," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (New York: De Gruyter, 2008), 21; Brockmeier, "Remembering and Forgetting: Narratives as Cultural Memory," 25, 35.

402 Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 36; Brockmeier, "Remembering and Forgetting: Narratives as Cultural Memory," 25.

403 Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 36; Hirst and Manier, "Towards a Psychology of Collective Memory," 193; Qi Wang, "On the Cultural Constitution of Collective Memory," *Memory* 16 (2008): 312–13.

404 Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 37–38; Wang, "On the Cultural Constitution of Collective Memory," 306–7.

405 Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 48–59, citing examples from *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.20.33; Giulio Camillo's "Theatre of Memory," and Suger of Saint-Denis.

406 Brockmeier, "Remembering and Forgetting: Narratives as Cultural Memory," 26–28, 33–34.

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sufficient cause for Israelite Yahwism.[407] We cannot be sure *this* is where and when and how Yahweh entered Israel but we are not after parsimony with regard to causes.[408] This is, however, the most plausible explanation available given the evidence at hand.[409]

Later Israelite tradition seems confused about the identity of the Midianite-Kenites. The later parts of the Hebrew Bible consider Tayma to be Ishmaelite (2 Chron 5:18–19), a rather general term for nomads, equivalent to later use of the term "Arab" (1 Chron 2:17; 27:30).[410] Neither are ever depicted as enemies of Israel.[411] On the other hand, true North Arabian names are used mainly for biblical Horites, the pre-Edomite inhabitants of "Seir": Lihyanite Lotan, Lihyanite Dishan, Lihyanite and Thamudic Anah, Safaitic and Thamudic Ithran, and Safaitic and Thamudic Hori itself.[412] A few North Arabian names area used for Edomites: Zerah and Omar, which are both Lihyanite and Safaitic.[413]

Nevertheless, Israel also remembered Hobab the Kenite intermingling with early Israel, especially in the Negev (Judg 1:16–17).[414] Heber the Kenite of Judges 4 moves across a border as if it were nonexistent—like a Kapsiki smith—arriving at a Holy Oak, of the sort found at Moreh, Mamre, Tabor, etc. (Judg 4:11). Was it holy, Benjamin Mazar asked, before a Kenite got there or because he was there?[415] Originally endogamous, Israel eventually absorbed the Midianite Kenites, seeing them as part of Judah (Genesis 36; 1 Chronicles 2).

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407 John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 97–99; Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Ideas* 8 (1969): 25.

408 Gaddis, *The Landscape of History*, 105; Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," 42–43, 46.

409 On plausibility in historical explanation, see Robert D. Miller II, "Yahweh and His Clio: Critical Theory and the Historical Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," 153–54; Gaddis, *The Landscape of History*, 92, 103.

410 Yehuda Elitzur, Yehudah Ḳil, and Lenn J. Schramm, *The Daat Mikra Bible Atlas* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 2011), 74–75; Hübner, "Early Arabs in Pre-Hellenistic Palestine in the Context of the Old Testament," 37–38.

411 Gus Van Beek, "Prolegomenon," in *Arabia and the Bible*, by James Montgomery (New York: Ktav, 1969), xiii.

412 Walter Kornfeld, "Der Edomiterlisten (Gen 36; 1C1) im Lichte des altarabischer Namensmateriales," in *Melanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor*, AOAT 212 (Kevelaer: Betzon & Bercker, 1985), 231.

413 Kornfeld, "Edoniterlisten," 231–36.

414 Benjamin Mazar, "The Sanctuary of Arad and Hobab the Kenite (1965)," in *Biblical Israel: State and People*, ed. Shmuel Aḥituv (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 75, who notes also the ʿYRD between Cain and Jubal/Jabal in the Genesis genealogy; Mazar, 71–72 n.16.

415 Mazar, "The Sanctuary of Arad and Hobab the Kenite (1965)," 75.

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Conclusion

The semi-nomadic copper workers of Timna and Faynan, who also brought Qurayyah Painted Ware further north, were "Midianites." They were also, literally, "Kenites," since "Kenites" means "smiths." Here are the pastoralists, blacksmiths, and musicians responsible for bringing Israel the God named Yahweh, the imageless heavenly one who treads the mountaintops.

Back at Kuntillet Ajrud, written on the north doorjamb of the foyer to the most clearly religious building at the site, is inscribed, "The Kenites overcame the countryside." As we have seen, texts written on walls are always material objects of ritual practice. Alongside the Kenite inscription at Kuntillet Ajrud, they or someone who knew what the Kenites had overcome the land with, wrote the following—with many of the motifs of the variants discussed at the start of this study:

When God shone forth on *r*[
And mountains melted
And peaks were crushed
Bless the LORD on the day of batt[le
The name of God on the day of batt[le.

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